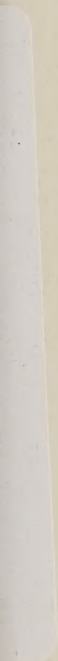
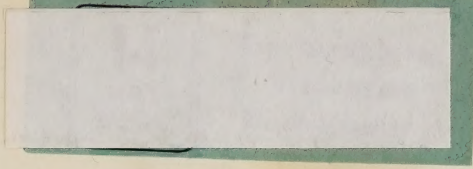




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BILLY GRAHAM

Revivalist in a Secular Age

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By

WILLIAM G. McLOUGHLIN, JR.

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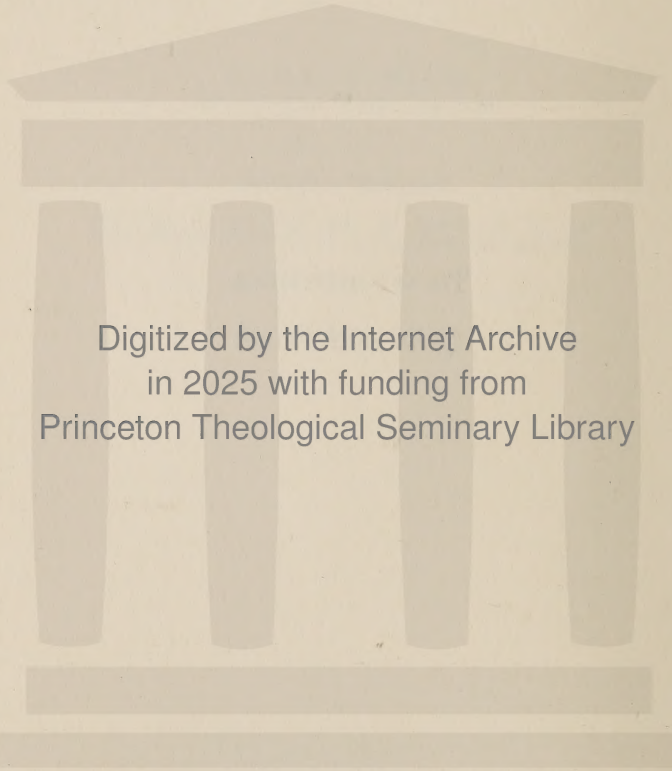
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TO MY BROTHERS,
Quin and Frank



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Preface

This book is an attempt to place Billy Graham's revivals in their historical perspective. Millions of words and thousands of pages have been written about Billy Graham in the past ten years but few of them have got to the heart of the matter. The books, articles, and interviews concerning Graham and his work have been written primarily by journalists eager to satisfy the superficial curiosity of Graham's contemporaries. They have explored the man and his revival crusades from the outside, but they have tended to treat him only in terms of here and now.

The revival tradition in America is almost three centuries old. Yet, except for occasional references to Jonathan Edwards, Aimee Semple McPherson, or Billy Sunday, few accounts of Graham have tried to relate him to this tradition. The erroneous impression still prevails that revivals are eccentric phenomena led by eccentric prophets which have little relation to the mainstream of American life. The sophisticated still patronizingly discuss mass evangelism in terms of the "superstitious rituals" of the uneducated and the clever utilization of "crowd psychology." But revivals are not so simple or so crude. They may be called phenomena, but like wars and depressions, they are phenomena which have a direct relationship to their times.

In the first place, there are many kinds of revivals: There are the highly emotional worship services of small sects in the backwoods areas or in the city slums which produce a

revival every Sunday; there are the annual tent-meeting revivals which are still a prominent feature in country towns across America; there are city-wide church membership drives organized by the local churches every five or ten years; there are highly elaborate metropolitan revival crusades like those of Billy Graham and Billy Sunday which flourish about once every generation; and then, at certain intervals in history, there are "great awakenings" in which the whole nation seems to be suddenly concerned with religion and churchgoing.

In the second place, there are all kinds of revivalists: the "spirit-inspired" exhorter who roams the rural areas or downtown city streets holding meetings wherever he can draw a crowd; the small cult leader who gathers his own believers into a separate revivalistic denomination and rents an old barn or store for a church; the free-lance itinerant evangelist who drives around the countryside in a battered car with a canvas tent which he pitches in a vacant lot on the edge of town for a two-week stand; the professional evangelist who comes to a city only at the invitation of the local pastors and who conducts his meetings in the regular churches or in a rented auditorium; and the religious prophet who captures the attention of the whole nation and seems to speak for a whole generation of churchgoers.

In order to see how and where Billy Graham fits into this religious panoply it is necessary to consider his career in a much broader context than has hitherto been attempted. This book, therefore, deals with his place in the venerable revival tradition, his role in the contemporary great awakening as compared to the role of revival leaders in past awakenings, his relationship to the institutional development of the churches, past, present, and future, and his place in the shifting climate of theological and ecclesiastical thought over the last fifty years. Above all, this book tries to relate the man, his message, and his career to the changing pattern of American social and intellectual life. For it is obvious to everyone by now that Billy Graham is far more than a

professional revivalist. He is a representative figure of his age. This book attempts to discover, from the viewpoint of the social historian, precisely what Billy Graham and his revivals represent, and what they signify about the temper of American civilization in the middle of the twentieth century.

I am conscious of the difficulties involved in attempting to analyze contemporary events, particularly where these events are so open to subjective interpretation. But there are also some advantages in recording the immediate responses of the contemporary observer and participant. What the future historian will gain in perspective, he may lose in freshness. What this book loses from want of hindsight, it may gain as a document of history itself. I make no pretense at absolute objectivity, but I have striven for accuracy wherever facts are concerned. The page proofs of this book were examined by Dr. Graham and several of his associates who made extensive comments. Where these comments pointed out errors of fact, I have made corrections. Where they questioned matters of interpretation, I have reserved the right to express my own judgment.

WILLIAM G. McLOUGHLIN, JR.

Providence, Rhode Island
March, 1960

Acknowledgments

First I wish to thank the many persons connected with the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association who have kindly talked to me about their work and who have freely furnished me with materials upon which to base this study. In this regard I am particularly indebted to Mr. George M. Wilson, Mr. Paul J. Maddox, Mrs. Betty Lowry, Mr. George Edstrom, and Mr. Willis G. Haymaker. I also wish to thank the many ministers and laymen who have worked with Billy Graham in his crusades who shared with me their views on revivals and revivalists. Several scholars in the field of religious history have gone out of their way to assist me in my research; I am particularly indebted to Professor James L. McAllister of Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia, Professor Warren Ashby of the Woman's College of North Carolina, and Professor Kenneth S. Inglis of the University of Adelaide, Adelaide, Australia. Mr. Joseph F. Quick, Executive Secretary of the Department of Evangelism of the Protestant Council of the City of New York, has been especially helpful in connection with the New York crusade, and Mr. Denis Duncan, editor of the *British Weekly*, has given valuable assistance in connection with the London and Glasgow crusades.

I also want to acknowledge with thanks a grant-in-aid from the American Philosophical Society which made it possible for me to gather material in various parts of the country for use in this book.

Many friends have assisted me by collecting impressions and clippings for my files. My mother, Florence M. McLoughlin, has been particularly persevering and helpful in aiding my research in this and other ways. Throughout the process of research, writing, and correcting, my wife, Virginia Ward McLoughlin, has given unstintingly of her warm encouragement and her judicious critical counsel.

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BILLY GRAHAM

CHAPTER 1

Billy Graham and the Revival Tradition

I have the greatest respect for Billy Sunday though our methods are different and some of our emphases are different because we are living in two different periods. . . . I would say that our meetings are more along the lines of the Moody meetings of about 75 years ago. . . .

BILLY GRAHAM ¹

No one expected a revival of religion to follow World War II. None had followed World War I, and when the great depression of the 1930's failed to produce one, the best-informed sociologists and historians had agreed that the old revival tradition in America was dead. Even church leaders and theologians had written off revivals as a primitive and outmoded form of religious expression no longer suited to the advanced stage of Western civilization. In 1946 the Rev. Willard L. Sperry, Dean of the Harvard Divinity School, stated in a book designed to explain religion in the United States to the British public, "We are tired of religious revivals as we have known them in the last half century. . . . Among all but the most backward

churches it is now agreed that education ought to be, and probably is, the best way of interesting our people in religion and of identifying them with one or another of our many denominations.”² And at the other end of the theological spectrum, the dean of a small Bible college in New York noted some time later that during the early 1940’s “even the most ardent evangelical was convinced that mass evangelism was outmoded. . . .”³

Yet within a few months after the war had ended, and before Sperry’s remarks on “the passing of the religious revival from the American scene” were yet published, the newest in America’s long history of “great awakenings” was already under way. In October, 1945, a periodical which spoke for the resurgent fundamentalist wing of Protestantism reported, “For the first time since the days of Chapman and Alexander, Billy Sunday, and other great evangelists of the early twentieth century, we are faced with the challenging situation of having many more calls for evangelistic campaigns than there are competent evangelists to go around.”⁴ Four years later a handsome young graduate of Wheaton College strode onto a rough wooden platform under a huge tent pitched on the outskirts of Los Angeles. Five thousand hushed spectators leaned forward, watching intently as he began to speak. In his left hand he clutched an open Bible. With his right hand he jabbed a rigid index finger at heaven. His wavy blond hair tossed loosely over his fervent blue eyes as he shouted into the microphone, “We need a revival. . . . I think we are living at a time in world history when God is going to give us a desperate choice, a choice of either revival or judgment. . . . God can still use America to evangelize the world. . . . In this moment I can see the judgment hand of God . . . about to fall. . . . This may be God’s last great call. . . . We need a revival. . . . I believe that we can have [a] revival any time we meet God’s conditions. I believe that God is true to His Word and that He must rain righteousness upon us if we meet His conditions.”⁵

By the time Billy Graham concluded his eight-week tent

meeting in Los Angeles the readers of *Life*, *Time*, *News-week*, *Quick*, the Hearst press, and the newspapers carrying the Associated Press dispatches across the country knew that America's fourth great awakening had begun. Billy Graham's name was added to the list of revivalists that began with Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield in the 1740's and continued through Lyman Beecher, Charles Grandison Finney, and Dwight L. Moody in the nineteenth century, down to Reuben A. Torrey, J. Wilbur Chapman, and Billy Sunday in the twentieth.

In 1949 Billy Graham spoke principally to and for the fundamentalists of America. But within five years his revival crusades were being backed by the churchgoers and church leaders of virtually all the nation's Protestant churches. By 1954 *Time* was convinced that Billy Graham was not only the true "successor to Billy Sunday" but that his position in contemporary Christendom rivalled that of Pope Pius XII: "Billy Graham is the best-known, most talked about Christian leader in the world today, barring the Pope."⁶ By 1958 Graham had enjoyed the hospitality and the admiration not only of the President and Vice-President of the United States, but of the Queen and Prime Minister of England, the Prime Minister of India, and of numerous other heads of state and influential political, business, social, and religious leaders around the globe. The Gallup Poll's annual survey to discover "the most admired man in the world" disclosed in 1958 that Americans rated only President Eisenhower, Winston Churchill, and Albert Schweitzer ahead of Billy Graham.

But for all the publicity Graham received and all the honors showered upon him in his rapid rise to fame, few Americans and even fewer foreigners understood the purpose and significance of his revivals. His name was a household word, but his career, his methods, and the reasons for his phenomenal evangelistic success were an enigma. To many devout Protestants he was, humanly speaking, inexplicable—he was a man "sent of God" whose work was supernaturally ordained and sustained. To superficial and

skeptical observers he was mistaken for another hell-fire and damnation exhorter to be lumped indiscriminately with Billy Sunday, Aimee Semple McPherson, Father Divine, Jonathan Edwards, and Oral Roberts. Many who never witnessed his respectable, well-ordered meetings imagined them to be emotional orgies of hallelujah-shouting, hand-clapping, and hysteria. Others considered Graham an egotistical mountebank out to win fame, fortune, or power by playing upon the credulity of the unsophisticated. And certain sociologists spoke of him as a skilled manipulator of crowd psychology and the mass media; it was inferred that he wanted to create a new denomination of Grahamites, to capitalize upon contemporary social maladjustments by denouncing the shortcomings of the regular churches, and to rally the simple-minded around him by prophesying the imminent second coming of Christ. But neither his detractors nor his admirers caught the true dimension of the man and his work.

The most common question asked about Graham was, "Is he sincere?" But while everyone from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the professional newspaper reporters agreed that he was, this explained nothing. As Graham himself was fond of saying in another context, one of the most sincere men he ever saw was the football player in a bowl game who ran sixty yards with the ball in the wrong direction. Sincerity ruled out charlatanism, but it did not reveal the nature of the rejuvenation of American Protestantism of which Graham's revivals were the symbol. Billy Graham, like all previous revivalists, insists that his success is the work of God. "It is not publicity," he says, which draws the crowds and fills his inquiry rooms with anxious inquirers. "It is not showmanship, it is not personality, it is not organization." But it is the hand of God. "It is God's doing and it is marvelous in our eyes." Yet even those who accept this view of the supernatural origin of revivals might legitimately ask why God has chosen this particular time and this particular nation for the commencement of a revival.

The key to Billy Graham's revivals, like the key to all of

America's previous revivals, lies not in the sincerity or the personal talent of the revivalist, but in the social and theological milieu in which he works. If sincerity or charismatic power were the key to revivalism, then the United States would never have been without a revival. For the active careers of the leading revivalists from Solomon Stoddard in the 1680's to Billy Sunday, who died in 1935, were sufficiently long to have maintained a constant state of religious fervor for 250 years. Nor is the clue to revivalism to be found in such obvious social crises as wars or depressions. There has been no significant correlation between America's periods of revival and her periods of armed conflict and economic distress. (In fact, a more significant correlation might be found between America's periods of prosperity and her periods of revival, were it not for the fact that so much of America's history has been characterized by prosperity.)

Historically speaking there seem to be several conditions which must combine in order to produce the climate in which revivalism can flourish. The most important of these conditions is a basic shift in the emphasis of theological thought within Protestantism (a shift which is invariably connected with a general reorientation in American society at large and which inevitably produces important alterations in the organizational structure and leadership of the Protestant churches). There have been four such basic shifts in Protestant thought since the Puritans first settled in Massachusetts Bay, and each of them has produced a period of revivalism so profound and far-reaching as properly to be called a "great awakening."

It is true, of course, that the English Puritan movement in the first half of the seventeenth century was clearly such an awakening, but since the settling of Massachusetts Bay was only a peripheral aspect of this movement, it is fair to say that the first great awakening in America was the one which took place in the years 1725 to 1750. This was the awakening which is associated with such names as Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, Theodore J. Frelinghuysen, and Gilbert Tennent. Theologically it marked the end of

the old seventeenth-century form of Calvinism which the Puritans (and Presbyterians) had brought from the British Isles and the beginning of a new kind of Calvinism. This new Calvinism, which might be called evangelistic or evangelical Calvinism, de-emphasized the doctrine of predestination and played up instead the need of the sinner to demonstrate forcefully his faith. George Whitefield so stirred up his audiences (and so, on occasion, did Jonathan Edwards) that hundreds of people who had formerly believed that they were too wicked ever to merit salvation felt as if a great burden had been lifted from their souls; they felt freed from sin and bound for heaven. Whitefield did not deny that God predestined some to hell-fire and some to glory, but he made so many persons feel as if they were among the saved that he took the curse of fatalism off the old Calvinistic dogma. And it was a good thing for Protestantism that he and his fellow revival preachers did so, for Calvinism had grown so formal, legalistic, and dry that many churchgoers in England and America were toying with the free-thinking rationalism or deism which gave the eighteenth century its nickname as "the Age of Reason." The Anglican churches, as well as the Presbyterian and Congregational, adopted a more fervent pietistic or evangelical outlook during this first awakening, and the preaching of Whitefield in America and John Wesley in England translated the growing faith in the individual dignity and rights of man into religious terms.

The second great shift in American Protestant thought occurred in the opening years of the nineteenth century. The leading figures associated with this second great awakening were Timothy Dwight, Lyman Beecher, Nathaniel W. Taylor, Charles Grandison Finney, and a host of camp meeting revivalists who brought a new religious fervor to the expanding frontier regions. In this awakening the concept of free will and free grace (the belief that God offered salvation freely to all who believed in Christ on faith) which had been only implicit in the preaching of the first great awakening became perfectly explicit. In theological terms,

Arminianism (or the belief in free will) replaced Calvinism (or the belief in predestination) between the years 1800 and 1835. Thus the intellectual currents which had brought the separation of church and state in America after 1776 produced not only the self-reliant individualism of the frontier, but also produced an individualistic Protestantism which completely reversed the old Calvinistic principles. The revivalists of this second awakening laid the foundations upon which Billy Graham's revivals are based both in theology and technique. But in making theology compatible with the nation's self-reliant individualism, the leaders of the second great awakening seriously undermined the importance of the church as a social institution and the pastor as a community leader. As a result of this new theological and ecclesiastical emphasis, the pastor became little more than a revivalist himself—a man whose primary, if not sole, duty was to save individual souls by persuading men to make a decision to accept Christ on faith.

The departure from this individualistic gospel, with its emphasis upon crisis conversion, constituted the third basic shift in American Protestant thought. This departure took place between the years 1875 and 1915, and it produced what may be called America's third great awakening, though it is usually referred to as the Social Gospel movement. As its name implies, the Social Gospel movement placed its theological emphasis upon the social teachings of Jesus rather than upon personal salvation. The social gospel preachers, among whom Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch were the most prominent, were not revivalists in the usual sense of the term. They believed that it was less important to convert individual souls by means of revival services than it was to promote the Kingdom of God "on earth as it is in heaven" by means of social, economic, and political reforms. The social gospellers were also influenced by new trends in Biblical scholarship and in science and came to place less emphasis upon the letter of Christianity than upon its spirit. The essence of the third great awakening lay in its attempt to interpret Protestantism in

terms which were more meaningful to the progressive and pragmatic temper of the times. This new shift in theological emphasis, like those in the past, met with serious resistance among many church leaders, some of whom disliked its social reform aspect and some of whom disliked its abandonment of the literal interpretation of the Bible. The result of the latter quarrel was the famous fundamentalist-modernist schism which reached its climax in the Scopes trial in 1925. Billy Graham tends to share the opinions of those who were the opponents of the Social Gospel movement and to find more in common with the fundamentalists than with the modernists. Since one consequence of the third great awakening was a thirty-year decline in the popularity of mass revival campaigns, Billy Graham is understandably pessimistic about the value of that awakening. To him the heroes of the era were not the social gospelers but men like D. L. Moody, Reuben A. Torrey, and Billy Sunday. These men were professional evangelists who, in their revival campaigns, led the unsuccessful fight to save the individualistic evangelicalism embodied in the famous "five points of fundamentalism"* from what they considered (and Graham considers) the rationalistic and socialistic theology of Gladden and Rauschenbusch.

The fourth great awakening in America, which began shortly after World War II and which is still in progress, is pre-eminently a shift away from the social gospel philosophy and the modernist (or liberal Protestant) theology. It is also closely related to the shift away from the economic and political liberalism of the first half of the century. Both the social theology of modernism and the political liberalism of progressivism and the New Deal maintained that to save the individual it was first necessary to save or reform society. The current awakening is dominated by such terms as neo-conservatism, neo-orthodoxy, and neo-evangelicalism because it represents in part a return to the older philosophical

* The "five points of fundamentalism" are the literal infallibility of Scriptures, the virgin birth, the substitutionary atonement, the bodily resurrection, and the imminent, bodily second coming of Christ.

and theological emphasis upon the individual as the focus of thought and action. There is little or no attempt to return to the Calvinistic dogma of predestination and its corollaries, but there is a tendency to emphasize the limitations of the optimistic faith in self-reliance and free will which began with the breakdown of Calvinism and reached its culmination in the 1930's. It is important to keep this point in mind. For the three great shifts in American theological and social thought which have preceded the current awakening have not been pendulumlike swings back and forth cancelling each other out. They have each been successive adaptations of traditional religious values and beliefs to an increasingly secularistic, man-centered view of life. The hope of the various revival leaders, of course, was always to stem this secularistic tide, but their methods of doing so have amounted in reality to a series of capitulations to it. In each awakening prior to 1945, Protestantism has taken further steps away from the God-centered universe of the Middle Ages and the Reformation.

While it is fair to say, therefore, that throughout American history revivalism has been primarily a means of reconciling the Christian tradition to changing times, it is essential to recognize that the revivalism of Billy Graham is very different both in theory and in practice from the revivalism of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield. As far as revival procedures are concerned, the real break between the theocentric outlook of the Reformation and the anthropocentric outlook of the modern world came in the second great awakening, not in the first. It was in the second great awakening that revivalism first explicitly came to terms with the scientific method—the inductive method of mechanical and psychological experiment. Billy Graham's revivals derive from the theory and practice of Lyman Beecher, Nathaniel W. Taylor, and Charles Grandison Finney. Although he spurns any compromise between religion and science, Graham ultimately bases his revivals upon the same reconciliation between them which Finney utilized to explain and defend his revivals in the 1820's and 1830's.

"A revival is not a miracle or dependent on a miracle," said Finney. "It consists entirely in the right exercise of the powers of nature." Jonathan Edwards and his followers in the eighteenth century had declared that a revival was "a miraculous work of God," a "shower of Divine blessing" which, like a shower of rain, was sent from heaven according to God's will and was not controllable by any device of man. Finney believed that if a preacher utilized "the laws of mind" (i.e., psychology) and the laws of nature and played upon the animal and religious affections or instincts of his hearers, he would be able to promote a revival whenever and wherever he chose. In his famous *Lectures on Revivals*, published in 1835, Finney set forth in clear and unequivocal terms the psychological and mechanical technique which revivalists have employed ever since. Finney was no rationalist, and he was as devoted to the fundamentals of evangelical theology as Graham (which is why Graham admires him), but he was imbued with the belief that God had ordained the laws of nature for the working out of His plans, and it was consequently incumbent upon men to use these laws in order to aid God—to work for God and with God. "The connection between the right use of means for a revival and a revival," said Finney, "is as philosophically sure as between the right use of means to raise grain and a crop of wheat" (and by "philosophical" Finney meant "scientific"). When Billy Graham said in Los Angeles in 1949 that "we can have a revival any time we meet God's conditions" he was simply rephrasing what Finney had said.

Finney had to overcome considerable opposition from ministers who believed, like Edwards, that true revivals were "Prayed down, not worked up."⁷ But the success Finney had in saving souls, and the success of those who followed his techniques, put an end to all argument, and today few ministers challenge Graham's right to utilize all the agencies of mass communication and all the methods of psychological persuasion in the effort "to lead men to Christ." It is important to remember, however, that Finney did not say, any more than Billy Graham does, that a revivalist can

save souls, or that a man can save his own soul, without God's help. Finney, like Graham, was nevertheless certain that God is ready and willing to offer salvation to anyone who asks for it in the proper spirit. This doctrine of free salvation, of divine grace and pardon freely offered to all men, is the Arminian interpretation of Christian theology which finally overthrew the Calvinistic interpretation that had prevailed in America from its founding until the end of the eighteenth century. Jonathan Edwards, like all true Calvinists, believed in predestination. And the doctrine of predestination taught that God had foreordained those who were to be saved long before they were born; hence Calvinists taught that there was little or nothing anyone could do to effect his own salvation. To Edwards a revival was simply God's way of sealing the predestined salvation of the elect by "implanting" or "infusing" grace into them and regenerating their wicked hearts.

The reasons behind the downfall of Calvinism are exceedingly complex, but the essential characteristic of the second great awakening was the repudiation of the concept of predestination and the alternative assertion of man's free will. Americans, filled with the spirit of liberty and self-reliance after 1776, were convinced by Finney's day that God was benevolent and that man was inherently capable of perfecting himself and society. The Calvinistic concept of an angry God who arbitrarily predestined some to eternal bliss and most to eternal hell-fire made little sense to a people who had wrested their independence from the most powerful empire in the world and who were busily wresting a virgin continent from the forces of nature. The belief that Americans were God's chosen people, and that the manifest destiny of the United States was the manifest destiny of God's plan for the human race, became part and parcel of the Arminian, evangelical, individualistic gospel which pervaded American Protestantism throughout the nineteenth century and which is still deeply imbedded in the thought of Billy Graham and his supporters.

The second great awakening also produced other impor-

tant shifts in American religious thought which have had a profound influence upon the revival tradition to which Graham belongs. The abandonment of Calvinism led to the loss of interest in all doctrinal or creedal tests of orthodoxy. Preachers emphasized instead "the fundamentals" or "the essentials" of the gospel, and conversion became an experience rather than an affirmation of doctrine. "Experience religion" or "heart religion," as the evangelical churches called it in the nineteenth century, reduced conversion to the verbal acceptance of the fundamentals on faith. In theory such an acceptance was simultaneous with the reception of grace from the Holy Spirit which transformed or regenerated the soul. And under the spirited exhortation of some revivalists, especially on the frontier, the conversion process became a highly emotional and nerve-shattering experience.

Not only were denominational differences blurred in doctrine and practice as revivalists and ministers began preaching experience religion in all denominations, but, more important for revivalism, the practice of itinerant evangelism became institutionalized. (It was no accident that the growing acceptance of the theory of "worked up" revivals coincided with the final separation of church and state in America. Even the most conservative Congregationalists in New England recognized that with the loss of their favored, tax-supported status it would be necessary to find some means of maintaining voluntary support which would provide both new members and new sources of funds from year to year.) During the first great awakening itinerant revivalists had been generally frowned upon by the regular pastors who considered themselves perfectly capable of handling such showers of blessing as the Lord deigned to send to their communities. But once the theory of worked up revivals became acceptable, it was apparent that certain men were more gifted at utilizing "the laws of the mind" than others. Such specially talented men were ordained as evangelists rather than as pastors and soon made a profession of itinerating in order to bring revivals to communities

which needed and wanted them. Largely through Finney's example, many evangelists left the sparsely settled frontier areas after 1835 and began to conduct revival meetings in towns and cities at the specific request of pastors who wished to increase their church membership or whose parishioners were too backslidden to fulfil properly their religious obligations. By the end of the nineteenth century, every town and city in the nation was the scene of annual revival meetings at which the Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, Disciples, and other Protestant churches of all hues joined together to pay the expenses for and lend their support to a professional evangelist for a city-wide "union" meeting. It was precisely in such annual revival meetings that Billy Graham began his career in the 1940's.

But Graham owes more to the second great awakening than the institutionalization of itinerancy, the Arminianization of theology, and the definitive scientific defense of worked up revivals. More particularly he owes to Finney a large part of his specific revival techniques. For example, it was Finney who first used "the anxious seat" in respectable urban revivals and thus forced sinners to make a clear-cut public declaration of faith. By accepting the revivalist's invitation to walk forward and take his place before the altar after the sermon, the awakened sinner in Finney's revivals acknowledged his desire to accept the terms of salvation described in the sermon. The fact that the anxious seat had previously been used primarily by uneducated Methodist circuit riders at frontier camp meetings at first brought down upon Finney the angry denunciations of the conservative Presbyterians and Congregationalists among whom he worked. Since Finney's day, however, the invitation to come forward (or to "hit the sawdust trail" as Billy Sunday later called it in his sawdust-strewn wooden tabernacles) has become so central a part of mass revivalism, urban and rural, that it is worth quoting the objections to it which the Rev. Albert B. Dod of Princeton University first raised. Princeton was, in Finney's day, the stronghold of conservative Calvinism; and, Dod, writing in the *Biblical Repertory*

and *Theological Review* in October, 1835, was arguing against the new revival tradition being promoted by Finney. Dod pointed out that when a sinner heard the preacher give the invitation to come forward to the altar after a revival sermon, no matter how good the sermon might be "The divine truth which was but now occupying his mind is forced away, while he revolves the questions, shall I go, or not? Who else will go? What will they say of me?" Moreover, Dod added, the use of the invitation "involves the capital error that no sinner who is truly awakened can refrain from obeying the call to the anxious seat. It assumes that to go to the anxious seat is 'to do something for Christ' and that it is impossible for him who refuses to go to be a Christian." To these objections raised by Dod, other "Old School" Calvinists added warnings that the high pressure techniques which endeavored to produce mass conversions would lead to hypocritical or overly hasty decisions for Christ, and in the long run the mere process of walking forward to give proof of a desire to be saved might deteriorate into a kind of ritual which would be mistaken by many for the conversion process itself.

But the Old School Calvinists, whether Presbyterian, Congregationalist, or Baptist, lost their fight against the "New School" Arminians and their "man-made" revival measures. In 1875, when D. L. Moody was adapting Finney's simple techniques to the more complicated process of large-scale evangelistic crusades in the teeming metropolitan centers of the post-Civil War era, the professors and theologians of Princeton welcomed his revivals, just as in the 1950's they welcomed Billy Graham's. Moody substituted the inquiry room for the anxious bench in order to save those who were aroused by his preaching from the embarrassment of being prayed for in public, but the process was the same in either case. Graham today follows Moody's refinement on the anxious seat, but he still gives an "altar call" prior to sending the anxious to his inquiry rooms.

Among other "new measures" advocated by Finney in his *Lectures on Revivals* and followed by mass evangelists ever

since were the necessity for concerted prayer effort by bands of Christians, the use of vigorous advertising methods, the adoption of a dramatic preaching style, and the employment of "protracted meetings" of continuous revival effort stretching over much longer periods than the four-day meetings which previously constituted the accepted duration of frontier camp meetings. But compared to the elaborate procedures developed by Moody, Finney's revival techniques seem crude and feeble.

It was Moody who actually worked out the organizational methods which Billy Graham and his team still use in the 1950's. And Moody's campaigns in London, Edinburgh, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago far outshone any of Finney's urban revivals (though Finney too held revivals in Edinburgh, London, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York). Moody was the first revivalist to advertise his campaigns in newspapers, on billboards, posters, handbills, and placards; he was the first to make detailed advance preparations for publicity, church organization, training of ushers, choir, counselors, and prayer meeting leaders; he was the first to publish audited accounts of the expenses, collections, and donations for his multi-thousand dollar crusades which lasted anywhere from six weeks to six months in one city. Like all later evangelists Moody went out of his way to cooperate with the newspaper reporters in order to provide the fullest possible coverage for his meetings. Moody was also the first evangelist to employ a solo singer and choir leader to assist him, and many people said that it was the gospel hymns of Ira D. Sankey rather than the preaching of Moody that attracted the crowds. If Finney made revivalism a respectable profession, Moody made it a big business. The leading captains of industry and finance, men like J. P. Morgan, Jay Cooke, and Cyrus McCormick, served on Moody's committees and donated their time and money for the sake of bringing religion to "the urban masses."

Many people have said that Billy Graham owes more to Billy Sunday's methods than to Moody's, but Graham himself denies this: "I have the greatest respect for Billy Sunday

though our methods are different and some of our emphases are different because we are living in two different periods. . . . I would say that our meetings are more along the lines of the Moody meetings of about 75 years ago." It is not surprising that Graham prefers to associate himself with Moody rather than with the more sensational and theatrical Billy Sunday, whose official biographer referred to him as "a gymnast for Jesus." Though Sunday was as sincere and honest as Moody and Graham, he gave revivalism a bad name by his use of slang, humor, and acrobatics in the pulpit and because he was known to have received over one million dollars in freewill offerings from his admirers in the opening decades of the twentieth century. Graham has pretty well avoided these pitfalls, yet his debt to Sunday is deeper than he admits. For Sunday perfected Moody's system of urban mass evangelism to an even more highly organized form of corporate enterprise. To Sunday, for example, Graham owes the idea of a team of associate experts to manage the details of every phase of a campaign. To Sunday he owes the practice of reserving large blocks of seats at every meeting for delegations whose attendance has been arranged in advance. To Sunday he owes the use of massive choirs and elaborate entertainment features as part of his revivals. There is more than a little of Sunday's tendency to inject social and political comment into his sermons in order to produce attention-catching headlines in the next morning's newspapers. And like Sunday, Graham equates conservative evangelical Christianity with patriotic Americanism. But in the last analysis, Graham's revival system is actually indebted to no one revivalist. It is the ultimate product of a long tradition.

The career of Billy Graham becomes comprehensible only when it is placed against this broad background of American revivalism—especially when it is recognized that professional mass revivalism has, since the early part of the nineteenth century, been an essential and closely integrated function of organized Protestantism. It is true that there have always been eccentric revivalists like Aimee Semple

McPherson, Father Divine, Elijah P. Dowie, and James Davenport, who were more interested in denouncing the regular churches than in assisting them. But these "come-outers" and prophets of schism have operated as individuals; they were outside the main line of the revival tradition. Generally speaking, their sincerity and piety has not been questioned but their mental stability often has. What puts these eccentric revivalists beyond the pale in the profession is their insistence upon separatism and their refusal to adapt their views and methods to the traditions of respectability, toleration, and conservatism which are the hallmarks of the professional evangelists. The essence of revivalism in America has been its note of cooperative enterprise for the good of religion in general. Within the professional tradition, eccentricity and controversy are taboo. The only things the professional evangelist can openly attack are those spiritual and moral evils which the vast majority of American churchgoers agree on defining as sins. The only things he can espouse are the generally acknowledged moral and religious virtues. To go beyond the lowest common denominator of the prevailing religious and democratic dogma is to jeopardize the united support of the leading clergy and laity whose cooperation is essential to the complex and expensive undertaking which an urban revival crusade entails. For this reason professional revivalists like Moody, Sunday, and Graham have never been leaders of public or religious opinion. Rather the significance of the great revival leaders has been their ability to embody in their colorful and eloquent sermons neither more nor less than the spirit of their times. In critical periods of religious and social reorientation they have given new expression to the old religious and secular ideals which have been the basis of the American dream. But when the period of readjustment has passed the reassuring voice of the evangelist is no longer needed. Often the evangelist himself fails to move with the times. It is at this point that great awakenings come to an end.

It was because the professional evangelists lost touch with the prevailing trend of American religious and social

thought after World War I (and not because of the vulgarity, sensationalism, or commercialism of Billy Sunday and his imitators) that the revival tradition went into its thirty-year eclipse. Professional evangelists had nothing meaningful to say to the generation which came of age during and after the First World War. By rejecting the scientific and scholarly theories of the twentieth century and by insisting upon the small-town moral code of nineteenth-century America, the evangelists doomed themselves to obscurity along with the fundamentalism to which they clung. And in the 1930's the political and economic conservatism of the revivalists (a conservatism which is indissolubly linked to the individualistic gospel they preach) produced an even greater abyss between them and the average American. When Billy Sunday began to compare Franklin Roosevelt to Hitler, Mussolini, and the anti-Christ, and to predict that the New Deal was the work of the devil, he demonstrated how far out of touch an Iowa farm boy born in 1862 could get with the realities of 1935.

The revival tradition still continued to some extent among the unsophisticated rural folk and among the country-bred evangelical urban dwellers of the 1930's; yet so complete was the collapse of fundamentalism that even in "the Bible belt" city-wide revival crusades were few and far between. The major denominations, having gone modernist in theology and New Dealist in social thought, depended for membership growth upon home visitation campaigns and upon their Sunday school scholars, who were accepted into the churches as a kind of graduation ceremony following their desultory religious education. Dean Sperry of Harvard was right in stating that revivalism had given way to religious education in most American churches after World War I.

Fundamentalism did not die, however, as Billy Graham's revivals were to indicate. And it would also be incorrect to say that fundamentalism went underground between the two world wars. In fact, fundamentalism remained very much alive and growing during this period. But it separated itself so drastically from the mainstream of American religious life

that most Protestant church leaders wrongly assumed with Sperry that it was obsolescent if not extinct. Such statistics as are available on the various fundamentalist, holiness, pentecostal, and "independent" churches in this period indicate that, proportionately, they grew far more rapidly in membership than the regular denominations. Between 1926 and 1936, for example, while the major denominations in the South (the heart of the Bible belt) increased by an average of about 10 per cent in membership, the General Council of Assemblies of God increased 270 per cent.⁸ Sociologists and church historians ignored such statistics in part because the membership in such fundamentalist groups was comparatively small (the Assemblies of God had only 59,343 members in 1936); but the proliferation of such holiness sects put their cumulative total in the millions. The fundamentalists were also ignored because they were considered the vestigial remnants of rural pietism or transitional steps on the road from primitivism to modernism. Certainly the continuous quarreling, schisms, and heresy-hunting among these ardent keepers of the faith seemed to indicate that their movement was disorganized to the point of chaos.

Yet this hectic chaos was a sign of vitality rather than decay. Apathy, not argument, is the symptom of religious decline. After an initial period of disorder in the 1920's the fundamentalists regrouped their forces, reorganized their social and ecclesiastical structure, and consolidated their theological position. Bible schools and colleges like the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois, Fuller Theological Seminary in Los Angeles, and Bob Jones College in Cleveland, Tennessee, became the centers of this reorganization. The unreconstructed fundamentalists, finding themselves completely out of sympathy with the world of the twenties and thirties, withdrew to establish their own "Bible-centered" culture within a culture. They built their own storefront churches, cinderblock tabernacles, and basement gospel halls. They founded hundreds of new Sunday schools, Christian day schools, Christian high schools, Bible institutes, and "Bible-honoring" col-

leges and seminaries. They gathered each summer at religious camp meetings, Bible conferences, prophetic conventions, and sent their children to Christian boys' and girls' camps. Although most of the people who belonged to this subculture were members of the marginal middle class, they were able and anxious to tithe or donate large portions of their incomes for "the Lord's work." Their money and enthusiasm helped to support hundreds of small fundamentalist periodicals; fundamentalist publishing houses found as eager an audience for their books as fundamentalist radio programs found eager listeners and contributors for their broadcasts. In addition, considerable time and effort went into organizing and building up Christian youth movements, Christian boy scouts, Christian veterans' groups, Christian businessmen's societies, and Christian missionary organizations. Within this "God-centered" and "Christ-honoring" environment the fundamentalists found a satisfactory way of life, insulated from the corrupt and corrupting world around them. They were in the world but not of the world. And their pietistic fervor, an inherent quality of Christianity from its beginning and a particularly vital element in American religious experience, kept alive a spiritual faith which was bound to break forth once the climate was right.

Billy Graham was a product of this pietistic or fundamentalist culture which flourished between the wars. But the reasons underlying the outbreak of America's fourth great awakening after World War II are not to be found simply in terms of the upward thrust of a resurgent fundamentalism, powerful though it was. Fundamentalists were by no means the only religious group to experience a renaissance in the 1940's. Roman Catholicism, Judaism, and even liberal Protestantism experienced a similar rebirth as American religious and social thought began a new period of reorientation. One level of this religious reorientation could be seen in the immense vogue of Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen's *Peace of Soul*, Rabbi Joshua L. Liebman's *Peace of Mind*, and the Rev. Norman Vincent Peale's *Power of Positive Thinking*. On a more profound level, the awakening

could be seen in the neo-Thomist writings of Jacques Maritain, the Hebraic existentialism of Martin Buber, and the neo-orthodoxy of Karl Barth. The fourth great awakening was, like past awakenings, by no means an isolated American phenomenon. It represented a new era of intellectual ferment throughout Western civilization.

And also, as in past awakenings, its stirrings could be seen long before the outburst of mass evangelistic campaigns which dramatized the readjustment as it reached its climactic phase. Liberal Protestantism, for example, had begun to re-examine its theological position in the 1920's, when the seminal works of Barth, Emil Brunner, and Paul Tillich first appeared. Reinhold Niebuhr and Harry Emerson Fosdick were among the first to urge American theologians to go "beyond modernism" to a more realistic and hardheaded appraisal of Christian thought. By the mid-1930's Fosdick, who was to many the arch-symbol of modernism, was ready to disavow the facile optimism and scientific pragmatism which characterized it: "The modernistic movement," he said in 1935, "adjusting itself to a man-centered culture, has . . . watered down the thought of the Divine and . . . left souls standing like the ancient Athenians before an altar to an Unknown God! On that point the church must go beyond modernism. We have been all things to all men long enough. . . . We have at times gotten so low down that we talked as though the highest compliment that could be paid to Almighty God was that a few scientists believed in him."⁹ Fifteen years later Billy Graham made headlines by such statements, but Fosdick's address was noted only by theologians in 1935.

But while this theological reorientation, which had been brewing among religious intellectuals for several decades, provided a receptive mood for Billy Graham's revivals among the college-educated church leaders, the impact of Graham's sermons upon the public at large can be traced more immediately to the sobering effect which fifteen years of world turmoil had had upon the traditional optimism of the American popular philosophy. Between 1930 and 1945,

Fascism, Stalinism, the great depression, the global conflict, atomic bombs, and the postwar "cold war" made a mockery of the liberal faith in such ideas as progress, the innate goodness and perfectibility of man, and the manifest destiny of Anglo-Saxon democracy to triumph peacefully and easily throughout the world. As Americans began once again to re-examine their ideals and beliefs in order to adjust them to a new set of circumstances, Billy Graham struck a responsive chord in their minds and hearts. Amidst the wreckage of so many hopes, Graham reassembled some of the old and cherished symbols of faith and gave new assurance to those who still held to the time-honored tenets of the American and the Christian way of life. American churchgoers were heartened by Graham's words quoted in *Time* in November, 1949: "We are standing on the verge of a great national revival, an old-fashioned, heaven-sent, Holy Ghost revival that will sweep the nation."¹⁰ So many efforts of man had failed, so much of the world lay in chaos and ruin, that the average churchgoer was ready to believe that perhaps a supernatural infusion of grace was needed to redeem civilization. Certainly a new infusion of assurance was needed. A year later, after the Korean War had brought the last faint hopes crashing, Graham's prediction of a revival seemed substantiated. *Time* now announced that "Old-fashioned 'evangelistic crusades' which used to be known as revivals, have been staging an impressive comeback."¹¹ It was at this point that Billy Graham became for many Protestants the same kind of symbol of faith and hope in a chaotic world that Pope Pius XII was for Roman Catholics.

Who Is Billy Graham?

"Why did God choose you?" asked the reporter.

"When I get to Heaven that's the first question I'm going to ask Him," Graham replied.¹

William Franklin Graham, Jr., was born in Charlotte, North Carolina, on November 7, 1918, one year after Billy Sunday had reached the climax of his career by winning 98,264 decisions for Christ during a ten-week crusade in New York City. Graham's father owned a prosperous two-hundred-acre dairy farm which he had inherited from his father. The farm was the remnant of a family estate ruined by the Civil War. Both of Graham's grandfathers fought with the Confederacy, but he makes no claims to aristocratic lineage. "I am," he says, just "a farm boy from the sand hills of Carolina."²

The Grahams belonged to the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church (General Synod) which held strictly to a belief in the literal infallibility of the Bible and to the dogma of the seventeenth-century Westminster Confession of Faith (evangelically interpreted). The Associate Reformed denomination was even more conservative than the Southern branch of the Presbyterian Church of the United States.

Not even the Moody and Sankey hymns were sung in its services; only the Psalms of David were thought fit for God. Graham's parents were devout in their religion and his father was an elder of the church in Charlotte. The family seldom missed a service or a prayer meeting and the children attended Sunday school without fail. Like his rigid Scotch-Irish ancestors, the elder Graham was the patriarch in his family. He reared his children "in the fear of the Lord," and exerted a stern moral influence over Graham, his younger brother, and two sisters. As Graham later put it, his father led the children to live pious and upright lives "with prayer and a hickory stick."^{2a} Before they were ten, each of the children was well along in the memorization of the entire Shorter Catechism (which is not very short) in preparation for the day when they would formally enter the church. In keeping with the old Scottish tradition, both Graham's parents hoped and prayed that their first-born son would receive a call from God to enter the ministry.

But young Billy wanted to be a baseball player. He was not a disobedient son, yet he displayed the normal reaction against an overdose of religion by finding it uninteresting. "When my father and mother made me go to Sunday school," he said in later years, "and on Sunday afternoon my mother would read to us Bible stories, I sometimes rebelled and thought she was too rigid and sometimes thought she was trying to cram religion down my throat."³ Consequently he took his religion somewhat less seriously than his parents desired and devoted most of his spare time to perfecting his skill at throwing, batting, and fielding a baseball. His parents might have taken some consolation from the fact that Billy Sunday had himself entered the ministry after a career as a professional baseball star. But young Graham's idol was not Billy Sunday. It was Babe Ruth.

At the age of twelve, Graham, having duly memorized the Shorter Catechism and expressed his belief in its tenets, was admitted to the church. A conversion experience was not required for membership although it was expected to occur at some time during puberty. As a youngster Graham

had been bored by the long, arid sermons of the minister, and his father had once strapped him with a leather belt for fidgeting during a service. But he attended church regularly, eventually becoming the president of the young people's society. And he obeyed all the pietistic injunctions against swearing, smoking, gambling, and immoral conduct. Prohibition was in force during most of his youth, so he did not have that temptation. Soon after the Eighteenth Amendment was repealed, however, Graham's father bought a couple of bottles of beer and forced Billy and one of his sisters to drink it in order to see how bad it was. This effectively killed any desire they might have had to indulge in that particular sin. Apart from baseball (and in the winter, basketball) Graham's adolescent energy found the usual outlets: speeding around town in the family car ("I remember driving my father's car down the middle of the town on the sidewalk"); attending the various parties and social outings organized by his high school friends; and dating a multitude of girls ("I remember riding in a convertible with my girl-friend standing up in the back of it with a cowbell, in the middle of town, ringing it"). He also assisted his father's seven hired hands in the dairying chores around the farm.

At sixteen Graham had the conversion experience which was expected of all young people in the pietistic tradition of the rural South. It was inescapable. A group of laymen in Charlotte, among whom Graham's father was a leader, formed a committee to invite the popular southern evangelist, Mordecai Fowler Ham, to hold a revival meeting in their town. For various reasons the ministers of the town were not enthusiastic about revival meetings of Ham's sort and did not take much part in the movement, though they knew better than to oppose it. Ham was a rural edition of Billy Sunday, an itinerant revivalist who had won a reputation among pious folk for his fiery denunciations of sin and his success in producing renewed religious enthusiasm among cold church members. Ham was especially noted for his ability to bring recalcitrant

young people to the anxious bench and break them of their adolescent rebelliousness. What bothered the local ministers was that Ham had adopted some of the unsavory racial and political attitudes of the more rabid fundamentalists in the 1930's. At various points in his sermons, for example, he would place the blame for the growing evils of American society upon the Satan-inspired schemes of international Jews, uppity Negroes, or communistic New Deal intellectuals. But Ham's four-week revival in Charlotte in the fall of 1934 was primarily a genuine, "old-fashioned" gospel meeting designed to arouse the slumbering churches and whip the town's black sheep into line.

Ham later recalled that Graham's father had particularly asked him to direct his attention to young Billy who, like most unconverted young people in the South, could not resist attending a ceremony which he knew was designed especially for sinners like him.⁴ But the real credit for Graham's conversion seems to belong to a local clothing merchant, J. D. Prevatte. Prevatte was a friend of Graham's father and one of the devout laymen who had been on the committee to bring Ham to Charlotte. During the revival he served as a "personal worker" or counselor in the tent, conversing with those who went forward to the mourner's bench. It was his task to elicit the personal confession of faith that would complete the sinner's transition to salvation which Ham's preaching had begun. Graham and one of his school friends, Grady Wilson, who was also still outside the fold, listened to Ham's sermons in the big tent for several days and were becoming visibly agitated by his hammering at the dangers and sinfulness of holding out against God's mercy. Graham felt a sense of guilt at his reckless impiety which made him think, he said later, that the preacher was referring specifically to him.

The scene is easily reconstructed: Prevatte approached Graham and his friend Wilson as they sat nervously in the audience after one of Ham's tempestuous sermons. The choir was singing, "Softly and tenderly Jesus is calling," and awakened sinners were slowly walking up the sawdust cov-

ered aisles to take the front benches which had been cleared for penitents. Ham kept urging others to come forward, to confess their sins, to turn to Christ for forgiveness: "God is calling you. This may be your last chance. God will never be so near to you as he is tonight. He is pleading with you. Won't you come forward and find rest and peace and forsake your wicked ways? If you do not heed this call, you will be rejecting God. You will harden your heart. That's right, brother, come on. God bless you. Come along, sister. The Lord is waitin' on you. Aren't there others here tonight who know they have done wrong and want to get right with the Lord?" Prevatte walked up to where Graham and his friend were sitting and with a serious, kindly face asked if they did not want to come forward now. Graham hesitated, looked at his friend, and then got up. With Prevatte beside him he slowly walked to the front of the tent and took his place with the others before the altar. He recited the well-known words of confession, repentance, and faith, and kneeled as the evangelist prayed for the souls of all those who had accepted Jesus by coming forward and who now promised to forsake their sins and walk in His way. There was much prayer and rejoicing in the Graham household that night.

But Graham still had a year to go in high school and his conversion did not shake his ambition to become a ball-player. He had acknowledged the authority of God, his father, and his church, but he had not undergone any discernible change in his outlook or behavior. The summer after his conversion he and his friend Grady Wilson (who was also converted) took their first jobs on their own. They became traveling salesmen for the Fuller Brush Company. Graham sold more brushes than any other salesman in North Carolina during the three-month vacation. He did so, he said, because "I believed in the product."

He was a lanky, good-looking boy with a frank, open face, a pleasant smile, and an enthusiastic sincerity which made a winning impression upon the housewives whose doorbells he pushed. Had Graham chosen to channel his

intense energy and warm personality into commercial salesmanship he would have gone far. But this experience was not wasted. Like the most famous of the post-Civil War evangelists, Dwight L. Moody, who had also been a highly successful traveling salesman in his early life, Graham learned much from the art of projecting his own enthusiasm into the promotion of his product. As he was later to say, "Sincerity is the biggest part of selling anything—including the Christian Plan of Salvation."⁵

But selling brushes was not as exciting as playing baseball, and after completing his senior year at Sharon High School (and almost failing to graduate because he would not concentrate on his lessons), Graham spent the summer of 1936 as a semiprofessional baseball player. He played with a local baseball team in Charlotte for ten dollars a game. But skill in sports requires discipline and Graham's enthusiasm was undisciplined. His inability to bat, like Billy Sunday's, typified that overly aggressive earnestness which yearned to blast every pitch into a home run rather than to concentrate upon directing the ball toward the openings which would produce a safe but unspectacular one-base hit.

Parental pressure upon him to enter the ministry mounted steadily after his conversion. His mother set aside a special time each day to pray for this end. According to the authorized biography of Graham written by Stanley High, the elder Graham's "prayers at the family altar . . . left no doubt of the hope he held that" his son would become a preacher. In the old Scotch Presbyterian tradition a would-be preacher must go to college. But most American colleges were too godless for Graham's parents. Only a God-centered Bible school would do. They decided upon Bob Jones College, in Cleveland, Tennessee. Bob Jones, like Mordecai Ham, was an itinerant evangelist. But when mass evangelism went into its decline in the 1920's, Jones looked for a new outlet for his abilities. Bob Jones College was one of scores of such nondenominational Bible institutes founded on a shoestring by pious preachers in the 1920's and 1930's. They catered to the sons and

daughters of fundamentalists who feared the atheistic state universities and the "highbrow" liberal arts colleges. The facilities of Bob Jones College were too limited to be accredited by the Association of American Universities, but that was not held against it by pious folk. Moreover, Bob Jones College had the endorsement of Billy Sunday, who had frequently spoken there and whose wife served on its board of trustees.

Although his heart was still set on a career in baseball, young Graham was persuaded to try Bob Jones College. He lasted only four months. The college did not encourage baseball players. It sought to train Christian workers—missionaries, ministers, mission hall superintendents, and evangelists. It did not even have any program for intercollegiate athletics. It also forbade its students to dance, to go to the movies, to gamble, or to indulge in smoking, drinking, or card playing. Extracurricular interest was centered upon daily chapel services, frequent prayer meetings, intensive Bible study, and occasional "concerts of sacred song." In the classrooms the Bible was the focal point of all subjects from sociology to literature. Graham was not yet so devoted to piety, and after several brushes with the school authorities over academic regulations, he was encouraged not to return for the spring semester.

His parents were unhappy, but they did not give up hope. A compromise was settled upon. Billy was to make one more try to get a religious education but his parents would allow him to make that try at the Temple Terrace Independent Bible School in Tampa, Florida (later known as the Florida Bible Institute and now as Trinity College). Here he would be near the spring training grounds for the major league baseball teams, and if God wanted him to be a ballplayer, some talent scout would discover him there. Meanwhile he must get some sort of godly education in case God had other plans for him. Graham accepted the compromise even though he was told that he would have to work his way through the school as any self-respecting young man would do.

This Bible school was similar to Bob Jones College in its outlook, but it was not so well organized. It was located in a second-class resort hotel and its seventy-five students worked their way through the school by serving as waiters, waitresses, dishwashers, bellhops, caddies, and errand boys for the hotel and its guests. Graham was a dishwasher and a caddy. The classes were scheduled so as not to conflict with the duties of the students. All the members of the small faculty had other jobs, principally as pastors of nearby churches. The courses consisted of Bible study and sermon writing based upon the usual literal approach and proof-text exegesis. Most of the students hoped to become preachers or missionaries and practice-preaching played a large part in their training. This was done not only in the classrooms but on street corners, in mission halls, in trailer camps, and in local churches—wherever people were willing to listen to earnest young men tell them in halting and repetitious words about what the Bible said. As long as the students stuck close to God's Word in their preaching their audiences were generally satisfied.

It was while at the Florida Bible Institute that Billy Graham finally made his decision to give up baseball and dedicate himself to preaching the gospel. The turning point seems to have come after he recognized that he had more talent for persuasion than for baseball. No baseball scout ever approached him, but the thoughtful help of the Dean of the Bible school taught him to find satisfaction and confidence in expounding the truths of the old-time religion. Careful coaching by the Dean and various practice exercises under the guidance of other students developed that talent he had displayed as a Fuller Brush salesman in the direction of preaching. His friend, Grady Wilson, had taken up preaching back home and he wrote to Graham of his pleasure and success at it. Experience in leading meetings at the nearby trailer court and at a downtown mission hall built up confidence. The incident which Graham remembers as confirming his choice of a career occurred when a girl whom he had been dating at the institute broke off their budding

romance one evening with the frank statement that he was too unsettled in his ways and showed no signs of becoming the devout Christian worker whom she had set her heart upon marrying. Graham took the rebuke to heart. After he left the girl, he wandered disconsolately over the local golf course examining his hopes and his past. He made up his mind that the girl was right; he had to buckle down to some career. That night he knelt in prayer and promised to devote himself to "the Lord's work." And there was no doubt what that meant. Soon after he wrote home that he had decided to be a minister. The call had come.

Graham's talents as a preacher were put to the test in the summer of 1939 when Dean John R. Minder asked him to supply his church near Tampa (for six dollars a week) while he went on vacation. Graham succeeded so well that another church nearby asked him to conduct a series of revival meetings for them. When this revival was well under way it was discovered that Graham had never been baptized by immersion. The church was a Baptist church and Graham had to promise to be immersed at the completion of the meetings in order to keep the revival from breaking up in a quarrel. "The boy preacher," as they called him, converted eighty-one persons and when they went to the river to be baptized, he went with them. Shortly after this sign of God's approval of his ministry, Graham applied for, and received, ordination at the hands of the St. John's Baptist Association of northern Florida. The ordination ceremony took place in the Peniel Baptist Church in Palatka, Florida. He was examined by about a dozen local Baptist ministers. Their questions caused Graham some anxiety, but they accepted his revival converts as sufficient proof of his calling. Apparently it did not bother Graham to leave the Presbyterianism of his family. Like all revivalists he has always maintained that doctrine is less important than saving faith. To Graham, any man who believes in and preaches the fundamentals of the gospel is a minister of God regardless of his denominational affiliation.

Graham stayed at the Florida Bible Institute for another

year after his ordination and was awarded a graduation certificate in June, 1940. He now decided that he must get a broader education than the simple Bible study which the Bible institute provided. During the summer of 1940 he conducted revival meetings at small churches in York, Pennsylvania, and Toccoa, Georgia, and then in the fall entered Wheaton College to work for an A.B. degree. Wheaton was also a Bible-centered, fundamentalist college, but its traditions went back to the middle of the nineteenth century, and it had acquired a better reputation than most schools of its kind. Located twenty-five miles west of Chicago, Wheaton had as its president Dr. V. Raymond Edman, a leading figure in the fundamentalist movement. Its buildings and grounds were well endowed, and in its student body were the children of those who formed the upper brackets among the nation's fundamentalists.⁶

Graham was admitted as a sophomore on the basis of the work he had done in Florida. He chose to major in anthropology, but like all Wheaton students he had to take the required courses in Bible study. When Graham received his degree in June, 1943, he was thoroughly convinced that the Bible was the best book on anthropology ever written, that the creation of man as portrayed in Genesis was the only correct one, and that Charles Darwin's theory of evolution was false because it left God out.⁷

Two months after graduation Graham married Ruth McCue Bell who had been a fellow student at Wheaton. She was the daughter of Dr. L. Nelson Bell of Montreat, North Carolina, a Presbyterian medical missionary to China from 1916 to 1941. The United States was deep in World War II when Graham got married, and while he was exempt from military service by virtue of his ministerial status, he applied for a commission in the army chaplain corps. In order to qualify for a commission, he accepted a call as pastor of a small Baptist church in Western Spring, Illinois, near Chicago. The church had about ninety members, and so little money that it could not complete the new building

it had commenced. Services were held in the basement of the unfinished church. Graham received a salary of forty-five dollars a week. (He never entered the chaplain corps.)

The dynamic young pastor at once began to expand the activities of his church. He encouraged it to donate more money to mission work; he organized a men's fellowship program, and he arranged for monthly dinners to be held at a local restaurant where as many as two hundred "business and professional men" gathered to hear spiritual talks by guest speakers like President Edman of Wheaton, evangelist Bob Jones, Jr., and the devout evangelical cartoonist of the *Chicago Daily News*, Vaughn Shoemaker. Six months after taking up this pastorate Graham persuaded his parishioners to underwrite a forty-five minute weekly religious broadcast emanating from a local Chicago station. It would cost \$150 a week, Graham told them, but if it were a success it would receive enough contributions from listeners to more than pay its way. Not only might the church obtain enough money to complete its building but it would be helping to spread the good news of the gospel among the unregenerate millions in and around Chicago.

Graham got the idea for the broadcast from his friend, the Rev. Torrey M. Johnson, also an alumnus of Wheaton and pastor of the fundamentalist Midwest Bible Church in Chicago. Johnson had started the show but was moving on to more important work and asked Graham to take it over for him. The show was called "Songs in the Night" and featured the solos of George Beverly Shea, hymns by a girls' quartet called "The King's Karrolers," organ music, and short gospel talks of three or four minutes by Graham. It was moderately successful and while it did not produce enough money to complete the church, it never ran into debt.

Then in January, 1945, Graham received a new suggestion from Torrey Johnson and decided to give up his pastorate. Johnson asked him to become a full-time recruiting agent for a new fundamentalist organization called Youth for Christ. It was Graham's work for this movement which

gave him the experience, the associates, the contacts, and the reputation upon which he later built his career as an evangelist.

Youth for Christ was not the inspiration of any one man, but Jack Wyrzten of New York City is usually given credit for being the first to experiment with the idea. Wyrzten, a former dance band leader and fire insurance salesman, had been converted to fundamentalist Christianity by a member of the Plymouth Brethren in the late 1930's. He began to conduct Saturday night youth rallies in New York in 1941 in connection with his radio program, "Word of Life." They proved so popular that on April 1, 1944, Wyrzten hired Carnegie Hall and filled it with his hymn-singing, Bible-carrying young people. Meanwhile a young minister in Indianapolis, Roger Malsbary, had begun similar Saturday night rallies in May, 1943. These too proved highly popular. Soon alert young fundamentalist pastors all over the United States and Canada, like George Wilson in Minneapolis, Charles Templeton in Toronto, Edward T. Darling in Detroit, were starting Saturday night youth rallies. Torrey Johnson had started an organization called Chicagoland Youth for Christ in April, 1944, just about the time he turned over his radio program to Graham. By May, 1945, Johnson had such a large following that he was able to fill Soldier's Field in Chicago with thirty thousand teen-agers for a mammoth Youth for Christ rally. A committee made up of various leaders of these independent Christian youth organizations was organized late in 1944 and issued a call for a convention to be held in the summer of 1945 at the Winona Lake Bible Conference. Several hundred persons attended the convention which met in the Billy Sunday Memorial Tabernacle in Winona Lake (Mrs. Sunday was on hand, but her husband had died ten years earlier). The convention voted to merge the various city-wide organizations into an international organization. A constitution was drawn up, a seven-point creed was formulated on fundamentalist principles, and Johnson was elected the first president. By 1947 there were

a thousand Youth for Christ organizations in a thousand different cities. The movement was an astounding success.

A variety of reasons was offered for its popularity. According to its proponents, the movement provided the much-needed answer to juvenile delinquency and communism among the young people of America. The dislocations of the war, mothers working in factories, elder brothers in the army, teen-age boys waiting to be drafted, country folk moving en masse into big cities to take jobs in war plants, a general atmosphere of excitement and "eat-drink-and-be-merry," it was said, prevailed among American youth. Christian leaders were worried. The churches and the traditional young-people's groups seemed unable to appeal to the younger generation. The YMCA was too riddled with liberalism to be an effective Christian counterforce. Teen-agers were roaming the city streets, getting into trouble, becoming undisciplined, taking to drinking, smoking, jazz, jitterbugging, and crime. Hard-working, pious parents, fresh from the country, were upset and felt helpless. Christian businessmen, lay leaders in the fundamentalist churches, decided that something must be done to attract these youngsters to the churches before they abandoned the Christian and American way of life for some pagan atheistic ideology. The Saturday night youth rallies started by young fundamentalist pastors seemed the ideal solution.

These young pastors, like Graham and his friends, were convinced that the old-fashioned young people's groups with their dreary, stereotyped procedure and their watered-down "modernist" theology were not appealing to the children of the 1940's. The Youth for Christ rallies were the modern substitute for the youth meetings of the Christian Endeavor and Epworth League societies. Their slogan was "Geared to the times but anchored to the Rock." The Rock was the infallible Bible, and the modern gearing consisted of slangy pep-talks, syncopated hymn singing, jazzy orchestral groups and singing stars (playing what were ostensibly hymns or patriotic songs), glamorous solo singers, and large doses of

patriotic flag-waving. Rally was the right word for these meetings. They certainly were not prayer meetings. For two or three hours every Saturday the fundamentalist young people of the cities found a place where, with full parental and church approval, they could go wild over religion, music, and patriotism. And through it all the young pastors and group leaders maintained a cheerful but sincere piety, encouraging the young people to bring their Bibles, to feel that God was with them, and that all their problems could be solved by prayer. As Graham said of his work with the movement, "We used every modern means to catch the ear of the unconverted and then punched them straight between the eyes with the gospel."⁸ Some ministers in the liberal Protestant churches fumed that the movement was trying to undermine the faithfulness of their young people, but to the supporters of Youth for Christ, the denominational young people's groups were already dead and if contemporary youngsters preferred the simple old gospel truths to the vagaries of liberal Protestantism that merely showed their good sense.

Some accused the Youth for Christ leaders at first of being fascistic, authoritarian, manipulators of mass hysteria, who mixed religion and patriotism for the purpose of attaining political power. These critics considered the warm support given the movement by the newspapers of William Randolph Hearst a proof of this. Others noted that there were few Negro leaders active in the movement and picked up phrases about the Jews as enemies of Jesus which seemed to indicate racist tendencies in the group. But these critics mistook a new kind of fundamentalism for the worst excesses of the 1930's when Gerald P. Winrod and his Bible Defenders were ardent supporters of Hitlerism. There probably were some older men working in the Youth for Christ organization who were admirers of Winrod. And there was certainly a tendency among the Christian businessmen's associations and Christian veterans groups which supported Youth for Christ to equate liberal Protestantism with liberal politics and to mix their dislike for communism with their

dislike for Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. But the real impetus of the new movement did not come from this source.

Youth for Christ was simply one aspect of the larger reorientation in American social and intellectual and religious thought which began in the war years and slowly built up to the awakening of the 1950's. At one extreme this awakening was related to the rise of that political neo-conservatism which led to McCarthyism; at the other it was part of the theological reorientation urged by Reinhold Niebuhr and the neo-orthodox Protestants. Youth for Christ was a manifestation of the resurgent neofundamentalism which challenged a waning liberal Protestantism. The fundamentalists and holiness groups who have been labelled "the Third Force in Christendom" may have gone down to defeat in the 1920's but they had by no means given up the fight. As liberal Protestantism was undermined by the neo-orthodox movement and by the inadequacy of its optimistic message in the midst of the dire calamities of the years from 1930 to 1950, the neofundamentalists began to take the offensive. In a sermon which he delivered in 1952 Billy Graham accurately caught the mood underlying this new fundamentalist crusade: "A great change is taking place in this country," he said. "Torrey Johnson said to me not long ago that in the city of Chicago there is very little real, old-fashioned, dyed-in-the-wool 'Modernism' left. I have found that absolutely true as I've travelled around. There's a reason that the Modernist is almost in a complete retreat. All his ideals and his intellectual props have been knocked out from under him, and he is standing almost in a vacuum now. He's moving toward neo-orthodoxy, but we're praying that he will go beyond neo-orthodoxy to the true orthodox position. . . . It is time for action. We must quit being on the defensive in Evangelical circles, and we must carry the offensive. We have defended ourselves long enough. Great books on Apologetics have been written, and today our position is being accepted more and more by the Church at large. I think now is the hour to take the flag and attack the enemy and move into the camps of the devil. . . . This

is the time for offensive action on the part of Evangelicals and on the part of the whole Church. It's time for an offensive in Revival." ⁹

Youth for Christ was one of the aggressive spearheads of this religious conflict. And Billy Graham was one of its young colonels. Late in 1944 he had caught the spirit of the movement from Torrey Johnson and had taken time from his parish and radio work to assist the development of the Chicagoland Youth for Christ. In January, 1945, he decided that the excitement and challenge of evangelism offered by Youth for Christ was closer to his heart than the difficulties of building up a small village church. As a leader of Youth for Christ he would be converting young people all over the nation to Biblical fundamentalism and helping to turn the tide against the theological liberals who had for years been sapping the force of Christianity. Graham began to lift his horizons and to formulate a national and international outlook in terms of his fundamentalist ideology which, to his great surprise, later turned out to be an outlook which countless Americans found appealing in the years of postwar anxiety.

In the summer of 1945 Graham took part in the Youth for Christ convention at Winona Lake and in September of that year he became the first "official field representative" of the international body. It was his task to go from city to city at the request of young pastors who were starting or wanted to start Youth for Christ organizations. As a dynamic, handsome, young preacher with an obvious gift for oratory and a burning conviction of his call to preach evangelical Christianity, he was looked upon by the supporters of the movement as a natural leader—a man whom young people would admire and emulate, and a man who could be trusted to put the fundamentalist cause before all of his personal desires.

In 1945 alone, Graham spoke in almost every state in the union at Youth for Christ rallies and ran up the impressive total of seven thousand conversions. Like the modern evangelist that he was, he traveled everywhere by airplane and

logged a total of 200,000 miles in one year. One of his trips took him to his home state of North Carolina where, at a Youth for Christ rally, he met a dedicated young trombonist and choir leader named Cliff Barrows. Barrows, a graduate of Bob Jones College, proved so adept at inspiring the youngsters of Asheville to sing and enjoy themselves that Graham persuaded him to become his partner in the work. Barrows' wife, also a graduate of Bob Jones College, went along with her husband to play the piano. And later George Beverly Shea joined Graham as soloist. Graham was starting to build his "team" just as Billy Sunday, fifty years before, had started his career by building up a team of experts (he called it the Sunday Party) to assist him in the complex task of mass evangelism.

Youth for Christ International decided to expand beyond the United States and Canada in the spring of 1946 and Graham was dispatched to Great Britain and thence to various countries in Europe. Other members of the movement went to Korea, Japan, Australia, Africa. In all these places fundamentalist ministers and missionaries, many of them trained in the same Bible schools as the Youth for Christ leaders, eagerly welcomed their aid in galvanizing the religious life of their communities. And, as in the United States, liberal ministers were hostile or aloof. Between 1946 and 1949 Graham made six trips to Europe either to organize new Youth for Christ groups or to attend national and international Youth for Christ conventions. He traveled over 750,000 miles on these missions and established friendly contacts among fundamentalist leaders everywhere. They were impressed by his charm, his enthusiasm, and his success as an evangelist to youth.

By 1947 Graham was so well thought of within fundamentalist circles that the Rev. William Bell Riley, the old war horse of the first fundamentalist crusade against modernism in the 1920's, selected Graham as his successor. Riley was the pastor of the First Baptist Church of Minneapolis, Minnesota, and in 1919 he had founded the World Christian Fundamentals Association which was designed to unite

fundamentalists of every denomination to fight off the inroads of liberalism. In the 1930's Riley had become extremely reactionary in his political and social outlook and, like his friends Gerald B. Winrod and Gerald L. K. Smith, he indulged in anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic bigotry. But Riley's main interest in 1947 was in the Northwestern Schools which he had started in Minneapolis in the 1920's. The schools consisted of a Bible school, a theological seminary, and a liberal arts college. Riley had obtained sufficient money to erect or purchase half a dozen buildings for these schools and was engaged in an ambitious new building program for them. Graham, he believed, could help to raise the money for this.

In the summer of 1947, shortly before his death, Riley called Graham to Minneapolis and begged him to take over the presidency of the college. Graham recognized the honor that Riley was conferring on him but did not want to give up evangelism. A compromise was worked out whereby Graham eventually accepted the presidency but left the running of the college to a group of his trusted friends. He raised money for the new buildings, but he did not appear in Minneapolis more than two months out of the year. When Riley died in December, 1947, Graham appointed T. W. Wilson (brother of Grady Wilson) assistant president of the schools; he retained George Wilson (one of the originators of Youth for Christ International) as the business manager, and appointed Jerry Beavan, a professor of psychology and Hebrew and editor of one of Riley's magazines, as the registrar. Graham left almost the entire management of the schools to these men and continued to devote his own efforts to evangelism.

In 1947 Graham also became the first vice-president of Youth for Christ. But the movement was now so well organized and well directed that calls for his assistance were less frequent. Each Youth for Christ unit was locally controlled and virtually autonomous. Once a unit was set up in a city the local fundamentalists ran it themselves. Graham was welcomed as a speaker whenever they could get

him, but he was not vital to the movement's growth. Although he helped create new units during the next two years, he now found time to branch out in revivalism of a more general sort. He had the nucleus of a revival team, and he found that many ministers who had attended his Youth for Christ rallies wanted him to conduct revival meetings for their churches. These would not be just to reach young people, but, as in the revivalism of Finney, Moody, and Sunday, they would be attempts to arouse the religious fervor of the churches and community as a whole.

At first Graham tried to kill two birds with one stone. He would accept invitations to conduct revival meetings and, at the same time, help local pastors organize or strengthen a Youth for Christ unit. But soon he began to accept invitations which clearly had nothing to do with Youth for Christ and to engage in precisely that type of itinerant mass evangelistic campaign that so many churchmen and sociologists had said was dead and gone by 1945.

Between 1947 and 1949 Graham conducted revivals of two to three weeks duration in Grand Rapids, Michigan; Charlotte, North Carolina; Des Moines, Iowa; Augusta, Georgia; Modesto, California; Miami, Florida; Baltimore, Maryland; Altoona, Pennsylvania; and Los Angeles, California. In the smaller of these places he was usually able to obtain the support of the local ministerial associations which were predominantly fundamentalist. But this was not true in Grand Rapids, Baltimore, and Los Angeles. Here he was invited by the fundamentalist pastors and assisted by the local Youth for Christ unit, the local Christian businessmen's group, and the Christian veterans group. Usually he rented a hall or theater or set up a tent capable of holding two or three thousand. There was little advance preparation besides the announcement in the local pulpits, a few posters, and the rounding up of volunteers to serve as choir, ushers, and personal workers. Graham would speak nightly at seven-thirty following a half-hour "singspirational service" conducted by Cliff Barrows. After his sermon, Graham, like other evangelists, would ask for those who wished to

make a profession of their faith to come forward to the front benches or into an inquiry room to sign a decision card. The number of card signers at these revivals ranged from about five hundred for two weeks in Grand Rapids in 1947 to fourteen hundred for sixteen days in Augusta in 1948.

The local pastors who cooperated in Graham's meetings were pleased by his results, but there was little in his meetings to distinguish them from those of twenty or thirty other professional evangelists who, since the end of World War II, had been profiting by the renewed interest in mass revivalism. Among the more successful of this new crop of evangelists, all of whom were friends of Graham and many of whom were associated with Youth for Christ, were Jack Shuler, Chuck Templeton, and Bob Jones, Jr. There was even a new wave of British evangelists who, like Gypsy Smith and George Campbell Morgan of pre-World War I days, regularly toured the United States. Among these were Alan Redpath, Tom Rees, and Bryan Green. The proliferating fundamentalist magazines carried frequent articles about these men and their work, but on the whole the secular press and the general public were as yet unaware of this renaissance of the revival tradition.

Then, suddenly, in the fall of 1949, revivalism became front-page news. And Billy Graham became famous.

Billy Graham Becomes Front-Page News

I don't believe there is a more wicked town in all the world than Los Angeles. One of these days the wrath of God is going to be poured out. Some of these people that laugh at prayer and revival meetings will change their minds. Brother, this old tent won't hold the people trying to get in.

BILLY GRAHAM ¹

The executive committee of the "Christ for Greater Los Angeles" committee invited Billy Graham to conduct a three-week revival in their city in the fall of 1949. They were not expecting anything spectacular. The committee consisted primarily of a small group of Christian businessmen headed by Clifford Smith, president of a sportswear manufacturing firm called Hollywood Togs, Inc. Smith and a few of his friends, together with the local fundamentalist pastors, had sponsored an annual tent revival in Los Angeles for many years. But Los Angeles was so full of religious meetings of all kinds that an annual revival of this sort was nothing extraordinary. Less than two hundred of the one thousand Protestant churches in the city agreed to

lend their support to it. However, the local Youth for Christ unit cooperated and numerous prayer groups were organized in advance to pray for the success of the meetings. A tent capable of holding six thousand was erected in a vacant lot, and loud-speaking equipment was installed (Graham used a lapel microphone for the first time in this crusade).

Two weeks before the meetings began, Billy Graham's high school friend, Grady Wilson, who had recently joined the Graham "team" as associate evangelist, arrived in Los Angeles. He made certain that the choir, ushers, personal workers were gathered and trained, and he checked the various possibilities for obtaining publicity. Among other organizations, Wilson talked with the Stars Christian Fellowship Group, an organization made up of minor movie, radio, and television personalities who met regularly for prayer, Bible-reading, and Christian missionary work. Most of these stars promised to support the meetings.

Graham came to Los Angeles a week before the revival was to open, for a conference with the Christ for Greater Los Angeles committee. He talked also with Stuart Hamblen, a former rodeo champion from Texas who now conducted a popular weekly radio program in Los Angeles called "Stuart Hamblen and His Lucky Stars" over the local Warner Brothers station. Hamblen, the son of a Methodist minister, promised to give Graham's meetings a boost by mentioning them on his show. The mayor of Los Angeles agreed to say a word of welcome in support of the meetings. Posters and billboards were put up at strategic spots, and the revival tent was decorated with a sign sixty feet long and four feet high containing a picture of Graham and the words "Greater Los Angeles Revival, Billy Graham, 6000 free seats, Dynamic Preaching, Glorious Music, every night, 7:30, Sundays 3 and 8:45."

The opening meeting took place on Sunday, September 25. Cliff Barrows directed the choir, played his trombone, and led the audience in singing, "Send a Great Revival in My Soul." Bev Shea sang a solo. The chairman of the revival committee welcomed the crowd, praised Graham, and

asked for contributions to meet the expenses. The collection plate was passed. Grady Wilson read from Scripture. Then Graham stepped forward, told the audience to bow their heads in prayer, and after the Amen, launched into his sermon entitled "We Need Revival." The main burden of his message was an attack upon the materialism, immorality, and paganism of contemporary America and a plea for a return to the old-time religion based on the authority of God's word.

"I believe the only reason that America escaped the ravages and destruction of war was because God's people prayed," he began. "Many of these people believe that God can still use America to evangelize the world. I think we are living at a time in world history when God is giving us a desperate choice, a choice of either revival or judgment." To drive this point home Graham reminded his audience that only a few days before, President Truman had announced that "Russia has now exploded an atomic bomb." Graham warned, "Do you know the area that is marked out for the enemy's first atomic bomb? New York! Secondly, Chicago; and thirdly, the city of Los Angeles!" If the enemy chose to do this, Graham indicated, God would not stop him. "This city of wickedness and sin, this city that is known around the world because of its sin, crime, and immorality" deserved destruction as much as Babylon, Sodom, or Gomorrah. In fact, the whole of America was becoming as wicked as the world of Noah's day.

"There was a time a few years ago, which most of you with gray hair can remember, when this country claimed the Ten Commandments as the basis for our moral code. That is no longer true . . . the American way of life is being destroyed at the very heart and core of society." Graham listed some of the prevailing sins of the day: divorce, crime, gambling, "the problem of sex," "false prophets and cults," and the fact that according to a recent Gallup poll only "27 per cent of the people of Los Angeles identify themselves with a church." One other important reason why "God Almighty is going to bring judgment upon this city unless

people repent and believe" was communism. "Do you know that the Fifth Columnists, called Communists, are more rampant in Los Angeles than any other city in America? We need a revival." The time was short; the need was desperate. "In this moment I can see the judgment hand of God over Los Angeles. I can see judgment about to fall."

But Graham offered a way out. "If we repent, if we believe, if we turn to Christ in faith and hope, the judgment of God can be stopped. From the depths of my heart I believe that this message is God's word today."² Many in the audience were visibly shaken by the end of Graham's sermon, but the local newspapers gave the revival only six inches of space on the back pages the next day and almost ignored it thereafter.

For three weeks Graham preached nightly and the committee filled the papers with advertisements announcing "Billy Graham" in the "Big Tent"; "Visit the Canvas Cathedral with the Steeple of Light" (a Hollywood searchlight), "Dynamic Preaching, Heavenly Music," "Great Chorus Choir," "All Star Supporting Party," "1000 Cooperating Churches," "Tidal Wave Interest." These ads were supplemented by "spot" announcements over the local radio stations. The attendance reached a total of 100,000 by the end of the third week (an average of 4000 nightly) with almost 1500 conversions reported. The executive committee decided to extend the meetings for another week. "Held Over Until October 23rd" read the advertisements in the newspapers: "Fourth Great Week by Popular Demand," "Los Angeles Greatest Revival Since Billy Sunday."

It was during this fourth week that two important events occurred which first put the revival in the news. The first was that William Randolph Hearst sent a telegram to the editors of his newspapers saying, "Puff Graham."³ This brought a swarm of reporters, photographers, and feature writers to the tent and resulted in front-page stories in this influential chain of newspapers. The second event was Stuart Hamblen's announcement over his radio program that he had been converted by Graham and was going to sell

his string of race horses (all but one, which he kept for sentimental reasons). Graham later stated that he had prayed and worked hard for Hamblen's conversion: "If I could have picked two men in Los Angeles whom I would have liked to see converted in the campaign there, one of them would have been Stuart Hamblen." As one of Graham's associates explained, Graham "realized in even the short while he was in Los Angeles that Hamblen was a key man in the area with tremendous influence."⁴

Hamblen was a member of the Stars Christian Fellowship Group and both he and his wife were noted for their piety and good works. But he had never made a clear-cut "decision for Christ" and it was the influence of Graham and the prayers of Hamblen's friends which finally led him to make this decision during the revival. His public profession of faith on the platform of Graham's tent and his later presentation of his parents to the Graham congregation so that the crowd could hear them testify to their gratefulness for this change in his life, was reported in great detail in the Hearst press.

The committee then extended the campaign for a fifth week. During this week another celebrity, Louis Zamperini, professed his conversion in the tent. Zamperini had been an Olympic track star in 1936 and a hero during World War II when he was captured by the Japanese. Following the war he had lost his grip and taken to drink. His wife attended Graham's meetings and was converted. She persuaded Zamperini to attend and several nights later he too professed conversion and promised to give up drinking. This produced more headlines and a decision to extend the campaign another week. "Held Over by Popular Demand," the ads announced: "Sixth Great Sin-Smashing Week."

Now the Associated Press picked up the story and sent news articles across the nation to its numerous affiliates. On November 14, *Time* magazine devoted ten inches to Graham, comparing him to Billy Sunday. *Time* described him as "blond, trumpet-lunged" and quoted him as saying, "I want to do away with everything that is criticized in mass

evangelism. We believe it is a spiritual service. We don't believe it is a concert or a show."

The day after the *Time* article appeared, a third headline incident occurred in Los Angeles. J. Arthur Vaus, an associate of the prominent Los Angeles gambler, Mickey Cohen, was converted in Graham's tent. A few years previously Vaus had been a student for the ministry, but he gave it up and turned to wire tapping. After his conversion he went to the Los Angeles police and confessed to having committed perjury in a recent grand jury hearing regarding police protection of vice. Additional headlines occurred when it was learned that Graham had tried to see and convert Mickey Cohen himself. The revival was extended for a seventh and then an eighth week. The students at Northwestern Schools in Minneapolis suspended classes for an all-day prayer meeting to aid their president. The United Press and International News Service gave nationwide coverage to the campaign. *Life*, *Newsweek*, and *Quick* ran feature stories.

Graham continued to hammer away at the need for revival and the sins of America. "I am persuaded that time is desperately short. . . . I am also convinced that the only hope of preserving our way of life, the only hope of preserving our present culture, is an old-fashioned, heaven-sent revival." In every sermon he stressed the same notes of fear and anxiety. "Tonight this old world is in fear. Tonight this old city is in fear—the whole Nation is fearful. . . . In Europe everyone knows that war is coming—war is inevitable. . . . They know the atomic bombs are going to start dropping. . . ." Far more than Moody or Sunday, Graham assumed the role of a prophet of doom. But he also held out hope and security: "Brother, I tell you, you want to start praying." "You know they can call me a fool if they want to; they can laugh, sneer, and mock all they want to, but I'm glad I'm on the road to heaven." "What can you do? Right now you can turn to Jesus. Let Christ come into your heart and cleanse you from sin and he can give you the assurance that if you died tonight, you would go to heaven." After

each sermon scores of people came forward to find the assurance Graham had described.

When the campaign ended on November 20, Graham was a celebrity. The total attendance in "the Canvas Cathedral" was 350,000 (including those who attended more than once). There were 2703 "decisions for Christ" and 1475 "reconsecrations" by persons already converted. By the end of the campaign Clifford Smith reported that 450 of the city's Protestant churches were expressing support for Graham.⁵ A freewill offering taken up to remunerate Graham came to \$12,000. He gave the money to the local committee to be used for evangelistic work.

Graham had said in Los Angeles that America was "on the verge of a great national revival." The newspaper and magazine reports reiterated the idea. But it was seldom pointed out that Graham's church support in Los Angeles and elsewhere came almost entirely from denominations which belonged to the National Association of Evangelical Churches. He did not at this time seek the support of the churches of the major denominations which belonged to the Federal Council of Churches (later the National Council of Churches). The difference between the National Association and the Federal Council was crucial.

The National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) was a federation of holiness, pentecostal, and other fundamentalist or "independent" groups. It had been created in 1942 for the combined purpose of uniting the fundamentalists and of competing with the Federal Council of Churches (FCC). The FCC, which had been organized in 1908, was from the outset dominated by modernists. Billy Sunday had done his best to oppose it. So had William Bell Riley and the whole host of early fundamentalists. But by 1942 almost all the important denominations in the country were affiliated with it. Officially it represented about 30 million of the nation's 52 million Protestants.

But in 1942 certain fundamentalist leaders, including Harold J. Ockenga, J. Elwin Wright, and Carl F. H. Henry, were convinced that the time was ripe to organize the ten

million or more fundamentalists who were not affiliated with the FCC. They also hoped to win away from the FCC some ten to fifteen million members, perhaps whole denominations, who were dissatisfied with modernism but who had not officially broken with the FCC. As J. Elwin Wright stated in 1946, the NAE was founded on "the conviction that the time had come when groups which could not conscientiously accept the leadership of existing interdenominational agencies must find some means of cooperation and expression."⁶ Wright pointed out that out of 260 Protestant denominations in the United States only about twenty-five were members of the FCC. Within ten years after its founding the NAE spoke for a constituency of over ten million fundamentalists; over fifty denominations were affiliated with it.

That this movement, like Youth for Christ, was part of the resurgence of fundamentalism was abundantly evident. The official magazine of the NAE, *United Evangelical Action*, stated editorially in 1955, "We are proud to walk in the steps of that grand company of so-called 'fundamentalists' who two generations ago blazed a trail for loyalty to Christ and the Bible in a forest of doubt and unbelief."⁷ The members of the NAE therefore were the logical supporters of Youth for Christ and of Billy Graham in the postwar years. The important question for the future of American Protestantism was whether Graham and the NAE would declare open war on the liberals and seek to split their churches, or whether they would seek to reform them from within. Since revivalism would obviously be a key factor in the struggle, Graham's position was of great importance. He could lead a religious crusade of righteous indignation and rebuke against the liberals, denouncing the FCC for encouraging heresy. Or he could seek the cooperation of the moderates within the FCC and gradually try to win them back to the old-time religion by proving that God honored fundamentalist preaching by the conversion of souls in revival meetings. Like all professional revivalists Graham's first concern was to win souls, and since mass revivalism thrived better on co-

operation than on dissension he chose the latter method. But in his attempt to keep faith with the fundamentalism of his friends in the NAE while at the same trying to ingratiate himself and his revivalism with the liberals, he found his path fraught with difficulty.

Following his campaign in Los Angeles, Graham began to receive invitations from ministerial groups all over the country to conduct meetings in their cities. He accepted first a request from his friend, Harold J. Ockenga, pastor of the Park Street Church in Boston; Ockenga had formerly been president of Fuller Theological Seminary and he was the first president of the NAE. Graham was to speak for nine days at Park Street Church which, over the years, had earned the nickname of "brimstone corner" for the fiery fundamentalism which had been the basis of its popularity. The Boston newspapers gave Graham front page coverage as the Protestants in that predominantly Roman Catholic city turned out in great numbers to hear him. The crusade soon had to move into Mechanics Hall, then to the opera house, and finally to Boston Garden, an arena which held sixteen thousand persons. It was reported that fifteen hundred persons signed decision cards at Graham's one-night stand in the Garden. The revival was extended from nine days to eighteen days. And when Graham left Boston the seventy-five cooperating churches made him promise to return later that spring for a continuation of the movement. The leading layman of the campaign, Allen Emery, Jr., was the son of the man who had been chairman of the committee which invited Billy Sunday to Boston thirty-four years before.

There were no startling conversions among celebrities or criminals reported in Boston, but the statistics were considered news in themselves: 3000 conversions, 105,000 attendance in eighteen days. The newspapers reported with surprise that "Among those many hundreds there was no seeming hysteria." The reporters had forgotten that there had been no hysteria in urban mass evangelism since the days of George Whitefield. Even Billy Sunday had insisted, "What

I want and preach is the fact that a man can be converted without any fuss." If revivalism was to stage a comeback in the 1950's, it would have to be at least as respectable as Sunday's, and Graham kept this fact constantly in mind. One sympathetic eyewitness noted in Boston, "There was little applause at the end of a solo or choir number, for Cliff Barrows requested that if you approve, say 'Amen' in your own heart."⁸

From Boston, Graham and his team went to Columbia, South Carolina. Here his crusade system began to acquire the characteristics which were to typify all his later campaigns: the rounding up of mass support from the evangelical churches; the formation of hundreds of cottage prayer meetings; the long careful preparation in advance; the saturation advertising; the carefully timed publicity releases; the daily radio broadcasts; the seating of important celebrities and prominent political figures on the platform; the special services for children, high school students, college students; the subsidiary meetings in offices, shops, stores, and banks; the piling up of endless statistics; the climactic meeting in a large outdoor stadium; and the expert direction of crowds of Bible-carrying church people and their revival-hungry pastors who, under Barrows' bouncy direction, sang, "To God be the glory great things he has done," and who echoed Graham's constant reminder, "It is God's doing and it is marvelous in our eyes."

Columbia had a population of 100,000 in 1950. The vast majority of its citizens were regular churchgoers and church members, and its churches were overwhelmingly sympathetic to fundamentalism (though their fundamentalism had grown soft and fuzzy since the Scopes trial in 1925). Graham could hardly accuse Columbia, as he had accused Los Angeles, of being "the wickedest city in the world." But he did say during the campaign, "I thought what God has done in the great cities of Los Angeles and Boston will never happen in the small city of Columbia."

The decision to invite Graham to the city had originated with the Layman's Evangelistic Club. These laymen then

obtained support from forty-two of the city's white pastors. The Negroes were not included in the campaign except those who sat in the segregated Jim Crow sections.⁹ The revival started on February 19 in the 3800-seat Township Auditorium. It ended on Sunday, March 12, with a mammoth rally at the University of South Carolina football stadium. One hundred thousand attended the auditorium meetings and 5050 decisions were recorded. Forty thousand more were at the stadium rally where two thousand raised their hands when Graham asked for those who wished to signalize their acceptance of Christ. Four thousand high school students attended a Saturday afternoon rally and signed 944 decision cards. Forty-five hundred children attended a Saturday morning children's meeting and five hundred of these were counseled about salvation. Nine hundred students from the University of South Carolina attended a service by Graham at their chapel; fifty of them went forward to make decisions for Christ. It was not considered important that 79 per cent of those making decisions were already church members who came forward "because they lacked assurance that their sins were forgiven." Church membership was no sign of salvation. Only a conversion experience such as those which took place in Graham's meetings was considered a "clear-cut decision."

Statistics alone did not constitute the main element of publicity. There was the newsworthy conversion of Kirby Higbe, a native of Columbia, who was a star pitcher for the major league New York Giants. He had a reputation for being a temperamental and unmanageable ballplayer, but on the second night of the crusade he came forward and made a decision for Christ which, he said, changed his whole outlook. When he reported for spring training later that week newspaper accounts told of his reading the Bible regularly and trying to convert his teammates. Then there were the invitations to Graham to address joint sessions of the Georgia state legislature and of the South Carolina state legislature. These attracted considerable attention. Graham told the Georgia legislature, "Unless God sends a great

awakening to the world, my two little girls will never see high school." Noteworthy also was the frequent attendance on Graham's platform of the governor of South Carolina, J. Strom Thurmond, and his wife. "I think the hope of the world today is for more people to turn to Christ," said the governor. "Billy Graham is a great evangelist and is conducting a wonderful meeting in Columbia. We are proud that he is winning so many souls to the Lord." United States Senator Olin Johnston also attended the meetings and praised Graham's work. At the climactic rally in the football stadium the feature personality was the Supreme Court Justice James M. Byrnes, who had been a former United States Secretary of State and who was the most prominent citizen of South Carolina. "I've been with statesmen, presidents, and kings," said Byrnes to the revival throng, "but this is the most inspiring moment of my life."

The revival was so impressive that Henry Luce, the publisher of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*, made a trip to Columbia to meet Graham and, according to one of Graham's co-workers, was so impressed that "He pledged the cooperation of his magazines to support all the subsequent Graham campaigns in other cities."¹⁰ Reporters and photographers from the Luce publications were much in evidence at the crusade. The report published in *Time* afterward, however, was not as complimentary as it might have been. It noted that Billy Sunday had obtained 25,000 converts in Columbia 27 years earlier as compared with Graham's 6000. And while the article called Graham "Evangelist Sunday's likeliest successor" it also said, "passionately wrestling with the microphone, he gave his audiences not a moment's emotional letup. But to old-timers who remembered another generation of revivalists—Sam Jones, Gypsy Smith, Sunday himself—Graham and his enthusiasm looked disturbingly like something out of Hollywood. His sharply-cut double-breasted suits and high-decibel ties. . . were a smooth contrast to the rumpled homespun approach of the old school."

Graham did not differ as much from the old-time revivalists as the *Time* reporter thought. And Billy Sunday, who

prided himself upon his well-tailored, sharply creased suits and natty white spats, would have been hurt to think that anyone remembered him as "rumped." Furthermore, Graham was as much addicted to the "homespun approach" as Sunday. In fact, in many instances he borrowed some of Sunday's own sermon material for this purpose. For example, he used Sunday's rejoinder to the criticism that revivals don't last: "Neither does a bath, but it does you good." And he used Sunday's joke about the farmer who said that before he got converted he wanted to know whether he could chew tobacco in heaven: "Sure," said Sunday and Graham, "but you'll have to go to hell to spit."

It was true that Graham had made some advances in the techniques of revivalism. Sunday had never used a loud-speaker system or a lapel microphone; these had not yet been invented. He had never utilized the radio; it arrived after his prime was passed. Sunday had never conducted his meetings in football stadiums or baseball parks, but he had used almost every other feature which Graham adopted. He had used children's meetings, high school students' meetings, and businessmen's luncheons. He had organized cottage prayer meetings. He had been invited to speak in high schools, hospitals, penitentiaries, college chapels, and state legislatures. He had adorned his platform with celebrities and politicians. He had received a freewill offering for his services by taking up collections at the meetings on the last day and by publicizing, through the local committee, as Graham did in Columbia, that contributions to this offering could be mailed or handed to the campaign's treasurer.

Above all, Graham had profited by the "delegation system" which Sunday had developed to perfection. This was a means of ensuring a full house for every night of a campaign by reserving large blocks of seats in advance for groups who either voluntarily wrote or telephoned for them or who were invited to come by some member of the crusade staff. In order to make the most of this system, Graham had added to his team in 1949 Willis G. Haymaker, whom he called his "Crusade Director." Haymaker had had long

experience in revivals and not only had served on Billy Sunday's team of experts but also had acted as crusade director for Gypsy Smith and Bob Jones, Sr. With Haymaker's help Graham adopted the delegation system as part of his revival procedure. Haymaker was able to round up so many groups who wanted reserved seats for the Columbia meetings that at one point in the crusade he temporarily had to halt the system because the ordinary citizens of Columbia complained that they were being crowded out of the auditorium. Few, if any, seats were left for the general public after the delegations of church members, business leaders, lodge groups, veterans' organizations, women's auxiliaries, and office clerks had taken their places.*

In one respect, however, Graham was not as modern as Sunday, nor, at this time, so influential. Sunday had always insisted that the local committees build for him a special wooden tabernacle in which to conduct his meetings (Sunday had a special assistant called a tabernacle architect on his team who supervised the construction of these buildings in each city he visited). Such tabernacles were not only acoustically better than the average auditorium but they were larger. Sunday's New York tabernacle, for example, seated 20,000 persons. Moreover, tabernacles added greatly to the news value of a campaign as the special structure was, like a circus tent, a focus of attention whose sole purpose was to promote that particular revival. Early in the Columbia crusade Graham and Haymaker realized that they could more than fill the 3800 seats of the town's municipal auditorium. They approached the local committee and suggested that a wooden tabernacle similar to the one Sunday had erected in Columbia in 1923 be constructed for Graham. In return for this special action Graham stated that he would

* In 1954 Graham adopted a new policy in regard to delegations which he called "Operation Andrew." According to this plan, any church group which received a block of tickets for reserved seats was supposed to see to it that half of the tickets were given to non-church members. But there was no attempt to enforce this provision, and there is ample evidence that it did not serve its purpose of making fifty percent of each church delegation consist of persons outside the church.

agree to extend his crusade beyond the scheduled three weeks. This would have been essential, for a tabernacle would cost \$50,000 to build, and the nightly collections to defray this expenditure would take a while to accumulate (even in Sunday's day when a dollar bought a lot more lumber tabernacles had cost as much as \$60,000). The ministers of Columbia considered the proposal, but balked at the expense. Some of them also expressed fear that an extended revival might have too disorganizing an effect upon the religious life of the community. Graham could point out that Sunday had often stayed ten weeks in a city and that Moody had stayed three to six months in some places. But the old fears of mass evangelism still lingered, and Graham did not yet have the prestige to enforce his plans. The committee turned down the suggestion, and as a substitute Graham made arrangements for a two-week tour of one-night stands in the various cities of South Carolina (it was the delegations from these neighboring cities which had squeezed out the local citizens of Columbia).

Graham's tour lasted from March 12 to March 23, and then he returned to New England for a similar twenty-eight day tour of the largest cities in that region. By the time this New England crusade was over in May, 1950, Graham was well enough established to make his own terms with local committees. Like Moody and Sunday, Graham informed all those who wished to engage his services for a revival that they would have to show that they had the overwhelming support of the evangelical churches in their cities, and he made it clear that his staff and not the local committee would make the plans, employ the techniques, and organize the whole program from start to finish in the manner which they thought most effective. As Graham saw it, those engaged in revivalism as a profession knew from experience all the details and difficulties involved in a crusade and were the most efficient and skillful in managing them. Local committees were needed to provide the workers, the money, and the audiences, but the team would direct the campaign. Neither Graham nor Haymaker ever put it quite so bluntly

as this. They maintained that the team merely provided the suggestions and the guidance and that all ultimate decisions would be taken in prayerful consultation between the local committee and the team members. But there was no doubt that when a city invited Graham they in fact put themselves into his hands and did what he thought best. On the whole it seemed a fair bargain. Graham's campaigns were self-supporting, and all the converts were directed into the churches. It was only sensible that if the churches hired an efficiency expert they should follow his instructions.

If the Los Angeles campaign first got Graham into the national front page, the Portland, Oregon, crusade in July and August, 1950, was the point at which Graham first took the initiative to maintain his nationwide audience. Prior to the Portland crusade Graham's revivalism was not much different from that of the many other professional evangelists who had sprung up to meet the new interest in mass revivalism. But three things happened in Portland that transformed Graham's team from a small-scale traveling revival company to a national big business. The most important of these was his decision to start a nationwide weekly radio broadcast. The second was the formation of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, Inc. The third was his venture into the motion picture business. By the end of 1950 Graham was not simply a small part of the neo-fundamentalist resurgence; he was its titular leader, its standard bearer, and its most prominent spokesman. From this time on he became the popular symbol of America's fourth great awakening.

The Portland crusade was instigated by Frank C. Phillips, the local Youth for Christ director, shortly after Graham's success in Los Angeles. Phillips gathered lay and clerical support and went to Graham with the invitation. Graham agreed to come for a six-week crusade in July and August of 1950, but because there was no building large enough for him, he suggested erecting a special tabernacle. The local committee agreed and raised the money to construct it. The tabernacle was modeled exactly upon those

used by Billy Sunday. It was built entirely of wood, 300 by 180 feet, and contained a platform 80 feet long (sufficient to hold two pianos, an organ, and seats for the local committee and various dignitaries); a rising tier of seats behind the platform provided for the choir of four hundred; the main body of the tabernacle had 12,000 seats, four aisles covered with sawdust to deaden the sound, a "lounge room" for the evangelist, meeting rooms for the team, prayer rooms, ushers room, offices, a lost-and-found room, and rest rooms. Two rooms were included which Sunday did not have in his tabernacles: a control room to house the electronic equipment for spotlights and thirty loudspeakers, and a press room with typewriters and telephones for the reporters. A tent was erected behind the tabernacle for counseling the inquirers (Moody had called it an "inquiry room"; Sunday had omitted this part of the procedure). The Portland tabernacle was built by volunteer labor in order to save expenses; Sunday had tried this once but the labor unions made him change his mind.

As in Columbia, a great deal of advance preparation took place, but for some reason Haymaker did not participate in this particular crusade. Instead the preparations in Portland were directed by Jerry Beavan, who left his work as Registrar of the Northwestern Schools at this time in order to accept the position of Executive Secretary and Director of Public Relations for Graham. Beavan arrived in Portland well in advance of the meetings to help in the preparation. With the growing importance of public relations in the Graham organization Jerry Beavan's role on the team soon was more important than that of Haymaker, and Beavan quickly became Graham's right-hand man.

It was probably Beavan's idea, as much as anyone's, to have the Portland revival filmed in sound and color not only as a permanent record but to show other cities how a crusade worked. It could also be used to build up enthusiasm for Graham's work by showing it to groups of ministers and laymen around the nation. The man chosen to do the filming was Richard Ross, the presi-

dent of a recently organized Hollywood company called Great Commission Films which specialized in short religious features. The film was at first called "The Portland Story" but later the title was changed to "Mid-Century Crusade." The expense of making the picture was considered part of the expense of the crusade to be paid out of the collections taken at the meetings. This film proved so successful and so useful that Graham went on to form his own motion picture company a year later (Billy Graham Evangelistic Films, Inc.) which not only made documentary films of all his major crusades but also, under Ross's direction, made fictional movies built around Graham's work in converting lost souls. The films were made available on a rental basis to church and civic groups, or arrangements could be made to have a member of Graham's staff show the film and take up a collection from the audience to cover the costs.

The Portland crusade followed the same pattern as the Columbia crusade, with nightly meetings at seven-thirty, two meetings on Sunday, and extra meetings for children, high school students, and various groups in the local area. Graham tried one other idea along this line, an idea much used by Moody, Sunday, and almost all earlier evangelists, the practice of holding meetings for men only and for women only. In the early days some titillation had accompanied this division by sexes, and evangelists had dealt with certain sins peculiar to men and to women, but Graham gave virtually the same sermon ("The Problem of the American Home") to both groups and simply stressed the duties of fathers, husbands, and young men to one audience and the duties of mothers, wives, and young women in the other.

Though the Portland tabernacle was built to seat only 12,000, 6000 chairs were set up outside the tabernacle, and Beavan reported that the average attendance nightly for the first week was 14,000. A total of 630,000 attended over the six weeks and another 20,000 were added by the final rally in a football stadium on the last day. Seven thousand persons hit the sawdust trail, as Sunday would have said. Graham preferred to say that 7000 per-

sons made "decisions for Christ" or "dedicated themselves to live for Christ."

It had been one of the stock complaints about mass evangelism since the days of George Whitefield that the converts made in such periods of excitement did not last. The evangelists uniformly blamed this on the local pastors for not following up and consolidating the conversions made at the meetings. The local ministers complained that the evangelist's converts were only superficially aroused and had acted on the spur of the moment, or else they would have voluntarily joined a church and become faithful Christians. Graham sought to overcome this perennial complaint by extensive "followup" work. And in Portland, as in later campaigns, he left a member of his staff in the city for several months after the campaign to see that as many of the converts as possible joined a church. Shortly after the Portland crusade Graham associated himself with a group called The Navigators, Inc., led by Dawson Trotman, which made a business of following up revival crusades. The Navigators had worked with Graham before, managing the follow-up work in his Youth for Christ rallies. They were also employed by various church groups, missionary societies and evangelists throughout the country to do this work. The hiring of The Navigators became a fixed part of every Graham crusade and Dawson Trotman was considered a regular member of the Graham team.¹¹

The decision made by Graham and his associates to undertake a nationwide weekly radio broadcast was not directly connected with the Portland crusade. It merely came to a head during that period. The idea started in the mind of the Rev. Ted Elsner of Philadelphia who was himself active in radio preaching and who had among the members of his church an advertising man named Fred Dienert. Dienert was an associate of the Walter F. Bennett Advertising Agency in Chicago, which had been the agent for several well-known religious broadcasts. Through Elsner, Dienert and Bennett took up the project of persuading Graham to go on the air. They first approached Graham in

June, 1950, and suggested that he undertake a half-hour Sunday afternoon show to be carried over the 250 affiliated stations of the American Broadcasting Company. This would reach eight or ten million persons every week. But of course it would cost, including Bennett's commission, about \$7000 a week, and it would need an initial investment of \$25,000 in advance. Graham was interested at first, then eager, but finally had to turn it down on the grounds that he did not know how to raise the initial \$25,000. Bennett kept hounding (or tantalizing) him, and finally in Portland, Graham knelt in prayer with Bennett in his hotel room and said that if the Lord would provide him with \$25,000 that night he would sign the contract. The test was to be whether the congregation at the Portland tabernacle would donate or pledge the needed money. During the course of the meeting that night Graham told the crowd of his problem and asked those who wished to help in advancing the Lord's work in this way to meet with him after the sermon at the tabernacle office. When the meeting ended a long queue of people was at the office door and, according to the report, \$23,500 was donated or pledged that evening. Bennett offered to put up the rest himself. Graham said that the Lord must provide it all or it was not answered prayer. Returning to his hotel he found two checks, one for \$500 and one for \$1000 awaiting him there. Graham was satisfied. He called it a "miracle" and signed the contract.¹²

The problem of putting the broadcast together in a workable format took two months. Dick Ross, who had had experience with radio and television as well as in making films, was hired to produce the program. Graham's wife suggested the title, "Hour of Decision." Graham's pianist, Tedd Smith, made a stirring arrangement of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" as the theme. The program itself consisted of choir singing, directed by Cliff Barrows, solos by Bev Shea, "crusade reporting" (news of Graham's latest meetings and other activities) by Jerry Beavan, scripture reading by Grady Wilson, and a ten to fifteen minute sermon by Graham. Cliff Barrows did the announcing. Guest stars

were used to add variety, and Graham kept the show up to the minute by injecting comments on national and international news items into his sermons. Graham was always introduced to the radio audience by Barrows with the words, "And now, as always, a man with God's message for these crisis days, Billy Graham." Each sermon ended with a request for the listeners to kneel by their radios (or if in their automobiles, to look straight ahead) and make their decisions for Christ. After a brief word of prayer Graham always signed off by saying, "And now, until next week, good bye and may the Lord bless you, real good." Then, as a postscript, Cliff Barrows reminded the listeners that the program was dependent for its support upon their freewill gifts.

The first broadcast took place on November 5, 1950, and according to Beavan, was so popular that "After just five weeks on the air, the Hour of Decision had earned the highest Nielsen audience rating ever accorded a religious program."¹³ Most of the broadcasts were "live," originating from the scene of Graham's current crusade, but occasionally when Graham was taking a rest or en route the broadcast was recorded in advance. As Graham's popularity grew over the years, Bennett persuaded him to add more stations and networks to his contract until, by 1955, he was being heard on almost a thousand stations by twenty million persons weekly in the United States and on over thirty short-wave stations around the world.

The financial problems involved in these movie and radio ventures necessitated some formal arrangement for handling the money. While he was still in Portland, Graham called George Wilson, the business manager of Northwestern Schools, and asked him for advice. Wilson suggested the formation of a nonprofit corporation, and Graham agreed. The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, Inc. was formed in Minneapolis later that month with Graham as president, Grady Wilson as vice-president, George Wilson as secretary-treasurer, and Cliff Barrows and Graham's wife on the board of directors. Various Christian businessmen also

agreed to serve on the board though it was understood that Graham and his team would have the deciding voice in all decisions.¹⁴

This corporation soon became the central coordinating agency for a vast range of activities. It not only handled all financial arrangements for the "Hour of Decision," which meant processing thousands of weekly donations from radio listeners, but it also had to cope with additional thousands of letters each week seeking Graham's help on personal and religious problems. This led the Bennett advertising agency to the idea for a daily newspaper column written by Graham in which he would deal with some of the more common of these problems. This column was eventually syndicated in 125 newspapers with a total circulation of twenty million readers. In 1952 Graham decided to produce a weekly television program and the Minneapolis headquarters had to expand to meet new demands. Among the seven thousand to eight thousand letters received in Minneapolis each week were many requests for copies of Graham's sermons and books and for recordings and sheet music by Graham's musical associates. So in 1952 Graham and Wilson formed a sister corporation called the Grason Company (with offices around the corner from the evangelistic association) which handled these requests on a mail-order basis. The profits went to support Graham's evangelism. By 1955 the Minneapolis office had a staff of 125 persons and an annual budget of two million dollars and was still growing.

All of these activities helped to keep Graham before the public eye and to capitalize to the utmost upon his name. But they would have amounted to little without his continued success as an urban mass evangelist. And this might have collapsed rapidly if he had not taken some sound advice in regard to his own financial remuneration. One problem which had helped to wreck mass evangelism in Billy Sunday's day was that a great many evangelists came to look upon the profession as primarily a means for making money. Although Graham, like Sunday, never took this view, it was inevitable that as he became more popular the

amount of money given to him in freewill offerings after each campaign would increase. By the end of 1950 he was receiving as much as \$16,000 for a single six-week revival. Like Sunday, Graham tried to take some of the odium off this high rate of remuneration by donating most of it to various religious causes. Nevertheless he did accept some of it, and whether he did or not, the local committees felt honor bound to see that he received a handsome sum. Newspapers often gave more publicity to the amounts Graham received than to the amounts he gave away.

In 1951 Graham found a solution to this problem which put an end to all controversy and freed him from the possible taint of commercializing evangelism for personal gain. He made arrangements with the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association to pay him a fixed salary of \$15,000 a year beginning January 1, 1952 (and somewhat smaller salaries were voted for several other key members of his team). This was to be his sole remuneration (excepting royalties from his books and the fee for his newspaper column) for each year's work as an evangelist, regardless of how many crusades he conducted. No freewill offering was ever collected for him again. The local committees did, of course, continue to pay for his and his team's expenses in each crusade, and the salaries of some of the minor members of the team were included as part of the regular crusade expenses. But there was no longer any question of using high-pressure methods to raise a large sum of money as a personal gift to the evangelist.

By the time Graham finished his Portland campaign in July, 1950, his revivalistic system was virtually complete. In the years ahead he was to add new refinements and to expand the size of his organization, but the basic pattern of his evangelism was now set. From Portland he went to Minneapolis to conduct a three-week campaign. Then to Atlanta for six weeks. From there to Fort Worth, Shreveport, Memphis, and a score of other cities, until finally, in May, 1957, he rode the crest of the new era of religious awakening into New York City.

That America was in the midst of a nationwide revival of some sort was evident by the end of 1950. In November of that year Reinhold Niebuhr, the leader of Protestant intellectuals, told the readers of the *New York Times*' Sunday magazine that one proof of the fact that there was a revival of religion under way was "the evidence of 'mass' conversions under the ministrations of popular evangelists who arouse the religious emotions and elicit religious commitments with greater success than at any time since the days of Billy Sunday." The managing editors of the Associated Press at their annual convention that same month agreed that "A growing interest in religion is evident all over the United States." As one of them said, "Religion has been doing a good selling job."¹⁵

Billy Graham did not create this revival, but he was doing a good job of selling it. As he had said about his ability to sell Fuller brushes, he believed in the product. But what exactly did he believe? What was the product he so effectively sold to hundreds of thousands in the 1950's, and why did they buy it?

Theology and Social Philosophy

The Bible embodies all the knowledge man needs to fill the longing in his soul and solve all his problems. It is the blueprint of the Master Architect, and only by following its directions can we build the life we are seeking.

BILLY GRAHAM ¹

One of Billy Graham's most frequently reiterated statements is that America needs to "get back to the old-time religion." But it is not always clear precisely what Graham means by the old-time religion. Sometimes he asserts that it is the religion of Moody, Finney, Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, and Martin Luther, as though these men all held the same views. Like all professional evangelists Graham feels that doctrinal and denominational differences among Christians are unimportant provided they agree on certain fundamental Christian truths. This is one reason for calling Graham a fundamentalist.

But the term "fundamentalist" has acquired many unpleasant connotations since the days of the Scopes trial. Billy Graham and the leaders of the National Association of Evangelicals often try to show that the neofundamentalism or "evangelical Christianity" which they preach is very dif-

ferent from the old fundamentalism of the 1920's. Graham explains his own position this way: "If by fundamentalist you mean 'narrow,' 'bigoted,' 'prejudiced,' 'extremist,' 'emotional,' 'snakehandler,' 'without social conscience'—then I am definitely not a fundamentalist. However, if by fundamentalist you mean a person who accepts the authority of Scriptures, the virgin birth of Christ, the atoning death of Christ, His bodily resurrection, His second coming, and personal salvation by faith through grace, then I am a fundamentalist."² These are, however, the same five points of fundamentalism defined by the Niagara Bible Conference in 1895 and solidified in the books called *The Fundamentals* issued in 1909-1910.³ They were the nub of the struggle between the fundamentalists and the modernists in the days before the Scopes trial. But Graham purports to treat them in a more broad-minded, unemotional, and socially oriented manner than some fundamentalists do. One of the basic problems, therefore, in defining Graham's theology is to find precisely how he differs from the old, narrow, bigoted, unsocial fundamentalists without becoming too similar to the modernists.

Graham's most clear-cut exposition of his theological position is to be found in his book *Peace with God* which was published in 1953. The fact that it sold 500,000 copies (including the 35c paperback edition) within two years indicates that even in cold print Graham's message appealed to many Americans. The opening chapter of this book is entitled "The Quest," by which Graham means the quest of every man to attain an explanation of the meaning of his life—the quest which can only end when one is at peace with God. Actually the chapter is concerned with four different quests. The first is the quest of the individual to find peace within himself in regard to his internal personal conflicts, peace over pride, selfishness, ambition, and envy—or as Graham puts it, the quest to attain "peace of conscience, peace of mind, and peace of soul."⁴ The second is the quest for peace with one's immediate family, friends, and neighbors—the ability to love one's neighbor as one-

self. The third is the quest for the means of establishing peace on earth good will toward men, or for creating the Kingdom of God on earth even as it is in heaven. And the fourth is the quest for peace or serenity in the face of all the inexplicable harassments of disease, war, famine, depression, and accidents, and the ability to meet with cheerful resignation the ultimate questions of death and life-after-death. Graham does not specifically spell out these four quests, for to him they are all part of the same quest. But it becomes evident in the course of the book that Graham's explanation of Christianity tends to shift its ground depending upon which particular aspect of the quest he has in mind.

For example, sometimes his emphasis is upon man's search for personal "completeness and fullness" through "fellowship with God," in which case Graham tends to be optimistic about its attainment; salvation and all its earthly and heavenly rewards can be had simply for the asking. At other times, when Graham's emphasis is upon man's search for a "better world" or "the kind of world we long for," he wavers between optimism and pessimism; the world would rapidly become better if all men were converted, but that is a difficult task. And sometimes, when his emphasis is upon the folly of the idea of progress or the futility of science and education to improve man's lot or the ineradicably "depraved and sinful nature" of man, Graham is predominantly pessimistic; the world is lost beyond redemption and only a few are chosen.

Throughout the book Graham borrows the dialectic or paradoxical approach and terminology of neo-orthodoxy. He notes the apparent contradictions in Christian theology and declares that Christianity is a religion of hope and of despair, of triumph and of suffering, the Christian is in the world but not of the world. In the hands of a profound theologian the use of paradox can be enlightening and enriching. In Graham's theology it often seems that he has relied upon it as a means of covering up the inconsistencies in his own thought.

Graham, however, like Sunday and Moody, makes no pretense at being a theologian or an intellectual. His whole message, he frankly admits, rests upon his own interpretation of the literal words of the Bible. He calls the Bible the "codebook" or the "key" to all the perplexing individual and social problems of "our topsy-turvy world." "The Bible," he writes, "embodies all the knowledge man needs to fill the longing of his soul and solve all his problems. It is the blueprint of the Master Architect and only by following its direction can we build the life we are seeking." In his sermons Graham often refers to the Bible as "the greatest how-to-do-it book ever written."

From the first page of *Peace with God* Graham makes it clear that the Biblical blueprint is not only eternally true and unchanging because God inspired and "dictated" every word of it, but it is also based upon historical fact which historical scholarship and archaeological research have verified as fully as they have verified the life and death of Julius Caesar.⁵ For those who may deny the historical proof of Biblical revelation, Graham points to the fact that the existence of God can also be proved by the laws of nature ("As a watch must have a designer so our precision-like universe has a Great Designer"⁶), from the existence of conscience ("Conscience tells us in our innermost being of the presence of God"⁷), and from "the ever-present law of cause and effect that operates on every level of the Universe" and which therefore necessitates the existence of a First Cause.⁸

Furthermore, God's Biblical blueprint is available to everyone: "If you do not have a Bible in your home, go out and get one now—get one that suits you best, get the size that is most comfortable for you to handle, get the kind of type that is most pleasant for you to read, and then settle down and find out for yourself . . . why it answers every human need, why it supplies the faith and strength that keeps humanity marching forward."⁹ One of the keys to the success of any evangelist is his ability to make the Bible seem clear, reasonable, easily understood, and verifiable to the ordinary

man, woman, and child. Graham has this ability to an eminent degree. "The Bible has no hidden purpose," he says. "It has no need for special interpretation. It has a single, clear, bold message for every living being. . . ." In fact, Graham makes the Christian plan of salvation seem so simple and reasonable that it comes as a shock to some to discover that the three cardinal points of his theology as he explains them in *Peace with God* are, in the last analysis, so "mysterious" and unknowable that they can only be believed on faith.

What then is the answer offered to all man's problems and questions in the Bible? And what is the explanation offered by the Bible for the sorry condition of the world "at this crucial point in history?" According to Graham it all began eastward in Eden when Adam disobeyed God. Graham declares that in the beginning God created a "perfect world," and placed perfect human beings in it. "The first man was no cave-dweller—no jibbering, grunting, growling creature of the forest. . . . Adam was created full-grown with every mental and physical faculty developed."¹⁰ God created a "perfect man," put him in a "perfect setting" (because "God could do nothing that was less than perfect"), gave him "total freedom," issued a single injunction against eating the fruit of two particular trees, and "Then, like the wise Parent that he was, God waited to see what choice this child of His would make." When Adam chose wrongly, God had no alternative but to punish him. "Suppose that God had said, 'Adam, you must have made a mistake, that was a slight error on your part. You are forgiven. Please don't do it again.' God would have been a liar."¹¹ For God had clearly told Adam regarding the tree of knowledge, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." God did not want this to happen. "He wanted to save man. He wanted to free man from the curse of sin." But He could not break His word. "His very nature would not allow Him to lie." He had stated that if Adam disobeyed His injunction he "would die physically and spiritu-

ally" and now that Adam had eaten the apple, God had to go through with his promise or be a liar. So death and sorrow and hell-fire became the lot of all men.

Fortunately God eventually found a way to help his creatures out of this plight. But Graham first endeavors to answer the inevitable question, the basic question in all theology, Who is to blame for Adam's fall? How did sin get into the world? Graham answers in the first place, "God is not to blame. . . . The fault lies squarely with Adam . . . who chose to listen to the lies of the Tempter . . ." ¹² But how did the Tempter get into the perfect setting in Eden? Graham replies, "We know from the story of Adam and Eve that the Devil was already present on earth before God made the first man. Evil always existed, else God would not have made a tree whose fruit gave the awareness of good and bad." Evil then antedates Adam's fall. But who created the Devil? Was God the creator of evil? "Here," says Graham, "we face the greatest of all mysteries, the most significant of all secrets, the most unanswerable of all questions." On this crucial point the Bible does not have the answer. In fact, the Bible "makes it very clear that man is not supposed to know the full answer until God has allowed the Devil and all his designs to help work out His own great plan." ¹³ For the Christian it is only important that sin is in the world, that Adam, not the Devil or God, is to blame, and that all men must suffer for Adam's fall.

"'But this is unfair!' you may say. 'Why should we suffer today because the first man sinned away back in the furthest reaches of time?'" The answer is that "Adam stands as the federal head of the human race. When he failed, when he succumbed to temptation and fell, the generations yet unborn fell with him, for the Bible states very clearly that the results of Adam's sin shall be visited upon everyone of his descendants." Or, using the common analogy, Graham claims that "sin is a disease" and it is transferrable by heredity. "For centuries . . . men have been trying to get back to Eden—but they have never been able to reach their goal." ¹⁴ The sin of disobedience is inbred in human nature so that

while all men, like Adam, have free will, they always choose evil rather than good. "Every day we have the opportunity to move ourselves and others a little closer to that beautiful living Garden that Adam forfeited," but men continue to exercise their free will by choosing evil over good and thus they disobey God.¹⁵ "We may curse Adam but we still imitate him!"

Men are therefore doubly evil. They are evil because they inherit Adam's sin and because they sin of their own free will. Man's depraved nature is constitutionally incapable of outwitting the Devil. In regard to the Devil, Graham is a true old-time fundamentalist who has no use for those "enlightened" persons who "take issue with the plausibility of a personal, individualized Devil in command of a host of evil spirits."¹⁶ "Don't doubt for a moment the existence of the Devil" for "the Bible describes a personal Devil who controls a host of demon spirits that attempt to dominate and control all human activity." And the only way that man can triumph over the Devil, the world, and the flesh is by accepting the miracle of salvation.

Salvation is God's plan "to free men from the curse of sin." It was achieved by Christ's substitutionary atonement on the Cross. "The only solution" for man's dilemma after the fall, Graham says, "was for an innocent party to volunteer to die physically and spiritually as a substitute before God. The innocent party would have to take man's judgment, penalty and death." And "the only personality in the universe who had the capability to bear in his own body the sins of the world" was "God's own Son."¹⁷ The salvation, or redemption, of man therefore hinges on the belief in the Trinity, for God and the Son are one. But the Bible does not explain how this can be. "This is a mystery that we will never be able to understand," Graham declares. It is the second basic mystery of evangelicalism.

Nevertheless Christ's love for man led Him to become a man in order that He might "meet and overcome Satan" and thereby "appease the wrath of God."¹⁸ By this means God absolves man from his justly merited punishment, death and

hell-fire. Ever since Christ's death and resurrection, God "waits to offer individual salvation and peace to the ones who will come to His mercy."¹⁹ Though every man deserves hell for his continuous disobedience to God's laws, God "does not send him willingly." In fact, by man's refusal to accept God's mercy he in effect sends himself to hell. This is the heart and core of the gospel. "God prescribed the remedy for the ills of the human race. That remedy is personal faith and commitment to Jesus Christ. The remedy is to be born again." It is significant for Graham's application of the gospel to social problems that his theology rests firmly and unequivocally on this individual relationship between man and God, for this makes all sin a personal matter.

In the section of *Peace with God* entitled "The Solution" Graham explains what it means to be born again, or converted. While he insists that it is a "crisis" experience, a decisive turning point which occurs in the life of every Christian, he takes care to explain that it does not necessarily require a great emotional or hysterical experience. He opposes the "falsely produced emotionalism in some revival meetings" and the excesses connected with "the old-time mourner's bench." He points out, "My wife, for example, cannot remember the exact day or hour when she became a Christian, but she is certain that there was such a moment in her life. . . ." ²⁰ But Graham categorically denies the theory of Christian nurture which the nineteenth-century New England theologian, Horace Bushnell, expounded; that is the view (paraphrased by Graham) that "every child should grow up to be a Christian without ever knowing that he has not always been one."²¹ Bushnell's theory, Graham says (without naming him), produced "a false and improper use of religious training" in liberal churches which became "a substitute for the experience of the new birth." Graham notes that most of the conversions described in the Bible are "the dramatic, crisis type," and the implication is that with rare exceptions, this is the most certain type.

Graham's chapter, "How and Where to Begin" answers the most vital question in all evangelism, "What must I do to be saved?" "Biblical conversion," he begins, "involves three steps—two of them active and one passive. In active conversion repentance and faith are involved. . . . The third [step] which is passive we may call the new birth or regeneration."²² Now the difference between Calvinism (which was preached by the Puritans and by revivalists like Jonathan Edwards, Gilbert Tennent, and George Whitefield) and Arminianism (as preached by John Wesley, Charles Finney, Moody, Sunday, and Graham) is that in Calvinism the conversion process was at least two-thirds passive, if not wholly so. According to most Calvinists, men not only lacked free will but they were predestined either to be saved or damned by the completely arbitrary and inscrutable sovereignty of God before they were born. To most Americans since 1776 this view reduces man to playing altogether too small a role in a matter of such importance to him; it smacks of fatalism. Modern revivalists, therefore, those who have preached since Finney's day, have usually held the view expressed by Graham that conversion is two-thirds active. This reduces the role played by God or the Holy Spirit accordingly, but it makes more sense to the average man. It also makes more sense out of revivalism. For it was a curious contradiction, as Finney pointed out in 1835, for Calvinists to insist that God required men to be born again before they could be saved from sin and yet that He did not give men the ability to effect their conversion. Predestination may have been good Calvinism, but after 1776 it was not a very effective theory for revival preaching. Graham, like Finney, insists "You can decide right now that you want to be born again," and the sinner is left in no doubt that if he really wants to save himself he can do it quickly and easily.²³ For example, in one of his often repeated revival sermons, based on Matthew 7:13, Graham tells his audiences that conversion can bring "a new world, a brand new dimension, a new area of living that you did not know anything about. And it can be yours tonight!

How? Jesus said, 'Enter in.' He indicated that you must do it yourself. 'Strive to enter in at the straight gate.'"²⁴

In *Peace with God* Graham delicately dissects the various parts of the three steps in the conversion process so as to allot the due proportions of effort to man and to God. But while conversion is somewhat complicated to explain, it is perfectly simple to do. And it by no means involves the long, drawn-out process that the Calvinists taught. Graham even maintains that "It may be debatable in which order the three [steps in conversion] should come, but it is generally agreed that they probably happen at the same time."²⁵ In fact, "Whether you are conscious or unconscious of it, in that critical moment of conversion, these three take place simultaneously."

This telescoping of the conversion process considerably increases the impression that the individual sinner is the deciding force in effecting his own rebirth. His first action is to repent or "to renounce his sin" or to make a "right-about-face" in his course of conduct. He is to turn *from* sin *toward* God. "When you have determined that you are renouncing sin, forsaking sin, and yielding all to Christ," Graham maintains, you have taken the first step toward peace with God.²⁶ But "you cannot have genuine repentance without saving faith" and "faith is a confident assurance of that for which we hope." Faith is "utter confidence" that the Bible is true, that Christ's sacrifice was efficacious, and that God will do what he promises to do. The convert should remember that "God does not ask the impossible. He does not ask you to take a leap in the dark concerning conversion. Believing in Christ is based on the best evidence in the world, the Bible."²⁷ But the Bible says men are saved by faith. Do not repentance and faith complete the new birth? No. "When you have saving faith in Jesus Christ you have taken an additional step toward having peace with God" but the third step is also necessary.

And this third step must be taken by the Holy Spirit: "Being born again is altogether a work of the Holy Spirit. . . . The new birth cannot be produced by human devices or

schemes.”²⁸ What then is the new birth? “It is the infusion of divine life into the human soul,” and by it “Christ, through the Holy Spirit takes up residence in our hearts. . . . That means that if you have been born again you will live as long as God lives because you are now sharing his life.” This third and last step in conversion is rather complex and not at all easy for the average man to understand. In fact, like the other two vital parts of God’s divine blueprint, it is so complex that it is a mystery. Yet, “Even though the new birth seems mysterious, that does not make it untrue.” Graham draws an analogy: “We may not understand the how of electricity, but we know that it lights our homes. . . . We do not understand how the sheep grows wool, the cow grows hair, or the fowl grows feathers—but we know they do. We do not understand many mysteries but we accept by faith. . . .” So, in the long run, despite the simplicity and historical validity of the Bible, the process of salvation is a leap in the dark, an act of faith. No matter how clear Graham says the blueprint is, his message in the last analysis is not based on reason or evidence, but on dogma: “You will never know peace with God, peace of conscience, peace of mind, and peace of soul until you stand at the foot of the cross and identify yourself with Christ by faith. There is the secret of peace.”²⁹

This then is Billy Graham’s explanation of the gospel. That it differs little from the stereotype of fundamentalism is apparent. But while critics may call it anti-intellectual, superstitious, primitive, or obscurantist, it has a tremendous appeal for those who, like Graham, are worried and confused by the fact that “the world has changed radically since the beginning of the century.”³⁰ The literal Bible, the blueprint of God’s master design, the love of Christ, the certainty of heaven, the reality of a personal Devil—these are the symbols which give meaning to the old-time religion and which make Graham’s preaching seem anchored to the Rock. The dogmatic assertion of these old, “eternal,” “unchanging,” truths gives a sense of meaning and security to those who are perplexed and upset, as Graham is, by “the

spirit of revolution that is sweeping away the established landmarks and traditions" of the good old days.

But his reaffirmation of the old-time theology is only one aspect of Graham's appeal. His preaching is directed toward life in the 1950's as well as toward life in eternity. And it is in the application of his theology to the particular stresses and strains of contemporary life that Graham evokes the most popular response to his sermons. It is easy to see how the assurance of salvation and the certainty of knowing he will go to heaven after death may give a kind of peace to the perplexed individual, but a man must also receive some instructions on how to meet the problems of this world if his faith is to have meaning to him. For many Christians the quest for peace is meaningful only in terms of the quest for solutions to their personal problems. Here there is nothing mysterious about Graham's message. He is on much firmer ground, or appears to be, when he brings his blueprint and his fundamentals to bear on the concrete problems of daily life. Graham maintains in *Peace with God* that the Christian life is not "a set of rules, taboos, vetoes, and prohibitions. . . . It is not a series of 'don'ts' but a series of 'do's.'" Yet, like old-time fundamentalists, Graham plainly warns every sinner against worldliness in all its manifold forms: "The world has a tendency to lead us into sin—evil companions, pleasures, fashions, opinions, and aims of the world."³¹ True to the pietistic basis of revivalism, Graham preaches *against* sin as much as *for* Christian action.

There is little in Graham's approach to sin to differentiate it from that of Billy Sunday, D. L. Moody, or any of the other rural-born and rural-bred evangelists. Like them he still believes that the small-town moral code of nineteenth-century America is the basic code prescribed by God for all human beings at all times and in all places. To the revivalist and his audiences sin is immorality, and immorality is measurable in specific actions. Like all revivalists, Graham sees sin predominantly in terms of sins. His sermons contain countless warnings against the sins of drinking,

smoking, playing cards, going to theaters or movies, dancing, swearing, telling "off-color stories," reading "salacious novels," looking at "filthy magazines," and playing golf on the Sabbath instead of attending church. "I believe that we need to get old-fashioned in keeping the Lord's day." "Watch the books you read. Watch the kind of entertainment you attend. . . . Someone has said, 'You cannot help the first look, but the second is sin.'" "Our newsstands today are so indecent that a Christian cannot look upon them without blushing." Girls who wear tight sweaters or use too much make-up are endangering their souls, and "If you women purposely dress to entice a man to sin, then you are guilty whether the act is committed or not." The sin of dishonesty is pointed out to those who "cheat on their income tax" or "pad their expense accounts." And traveling salesmen are warned that "Off-color jokes and dirty stories have no place in the Christian life." Graham repudiated indignantly an article about him in *McCall's Magazine* in which he was quoted as having said, "I know ministers who smoke, have an occasional drink, dance, and play a mild game of gin rummy. This does not make them any less devout than I am."³²

About the only difference between Graham and Billy Sunday in this respect is that Graham has to use slightly different terminology in discussing the sins of the 1950's from that used by Billy Sunday a generation ago. Where Sunday attacked saloons, speakeasies, and booze-hoisters, Graham attacks nightclubs, cocktail parties, and alcoholics. Where Sunday denounced "jazz" and "the bunny hug," Graham denounces "rock and roll" and the "mambo." In place of "white-slavers" and "pimps," Graham excoriates "sex maniacs" and "perverts." Graham is somewhat more frank in discussing the "millions spent on contraceptives" and about "sex orgies where married couples exchanged wives and husbands for an evening," but Sunday mentioned abortion and venereal disease more freely. Both evangelists dislike the prevailing fashions of their day in women's clothes: Sunday was shocked in 1910 when women's skirts

began to get so short that their ankles were displayed in public. Graham deplores "the Hollywood look" which over-emphasizes "the female bosom." (He consequently welcomed "the sack" dress because he thought it de-emphasized the female contours.) While Sunday denounced as false prophets those theosophists, Blavatskyites, spiritualists, and "Eddyites" who tried to elevate mind over matter, Graham denounces psychiatrists and psychologists for ignoring the Bible and excusing sin. Sigmund Freud has joined Voltaire, Charles Darwin, and Karl Marx among the bêtes noires of fundamentalism. "Psychiatrists have invented a new term for sin consciousness, and they call it 'guilt complex.'" "The average psychiatrist had little time for religion." "Psychiatrists are saying that the child should be allowed to give free expression and do as he pleases, but the Bible teaches that there should be loving obedience . . . and . . . discipline."³³ And yet Graham sometimes turns Freudian himself when he points out that the symptoms of sinful living today can be seen in the "tensions," "frustrations," "anxieties," and "inferiority complexes" that plague Americans.*

In addition to neuroses and psychoses, there are several other aspects of life in the 1950's which provide Graham with entirely new fields for fulmination. Graham is, for example, the first major evangelist to be able to denounce time wasted listening to radio programs, watching television, and seeing double features at drive-in theatres. He is the first major evangelist to have Hollywood as a synonym for Sodom and Gomorrah. He is the first to devote a whole sermon to the topic of "Highway Safety—A Spiritual Problem" (although Sunday early recognized that automobiles provided "a bedroom on wheels" for evil-minded adolescents). While both Graham and Sunday attack "dope peddlers" and "dope addicts" in their sermons, Graham is the first evangelist to denounce people who use tranquilizers,

* In commenting upon this paragraph in a letter to me, Dr. Graham noted that he was not opposed to all psychiatrists and psychologists and that he was in fact considering adding a psychiatrist to his team in order to assist in counseling inquirers. Dr. Graham is opposed only, he said, to atheistic psychiatrists and psychologists.

phenobarbitol, and vitamin pills. And it is significant of the rising standard of living among the middle class that Graham spends much of his time attacking the "gadget-filled" American home and the curse of "boredom." "We have more boredom per square inch in this country than any country in the world." Graham can apply to almost everyone in his audience the sins which Sunday found only among "the idle rich." He points out that "Americans have the highest standard of living the world has ever known. . . . The poorest person in this audience tonight is rich by the world's standards." And then he makes them feel guilty about it by reminding them that "In India tonight over 100,000,000 people will go to bed hungry, if they have a bed to go to. And when they drive the trucks down the streets of Calcutta tomorrow morning they will pick up people that died of starvation, as I have seen them in India." The basic trouble with Americans, according to Graham, is that they are too prone to say to themselves, "Soul take thine ease; drink and be merry; you've laid up enough goods. You've got economical security now. You've got money in the bank. You've got good insurance policies. You've got a good job. You've got a good business. Take it easy. Go and get you a little cottage in Florida and take it easy." But remember, he adds, tonight you may hear "a voice from heaven" saying, "Thou fool, this night thy soul is required of thee."³⁴ Graham is clearly an evangelist to an affluent society, and his success proves that the Protestant ethic, though weakened, is far from dead. For all his attacks on covetousness, Graham is quick to point out that there is nothing inherently wrong with being rich: "There is nothing in the Bible that says it is wrong to be rich if you have gained it honestly." The sin lies in spending it on gadgets and luxuries instead of for the Christian evangelization of the world.

But the most popular feature of revival preaching in all eras has not been the denunciations of the sins of society but the manner in which the evangelist applies the teachings of Christianity to the problems of marriage, child-raising, the family, and the home. These are topics which

touch the heart of every auditor. The vast majority of those who attend revival meetings are decent respectable homebodies. They look upon revival meetings as a family affair and bring their children with them. While they enjoy the evangelist's denunciations of the sins of movie stars, gamblers, the rich, and the social elite, those sermons which elicit the warmest and most deep-seated response are those which deal with the simple problems of everyday life. It is not surprising that Graham's most popular sermons are those bearing such titles as "The Home," "The Responsibilities of Parents," "The Answer to Broken Homes," "The Responsibilities of the Home," "Our Teen-Age Problem," "The Answer to Teen-Age Delinquency," "Juvenile Delinquency and Its Cure," and "The Home God Honors."

The last-named sermon was one of those delivered in Los Angeles in 1949, and it is a model for all his later discourses on this subject. In fact, it is a model for all of Graham's sermons. It demonstrates perfectly his approach to all the sins and problems for which conversion is the solution. Graham begins this sermon on "The Home God Honors" by declaring with Henry Grady that "the foundation of American society and the very heart and core of America is the American home." Like all evangelists he then eulogizes "the old-fashioned home" with its "old-fashioned parents" and delivers a panegyric on his own home: "I'll never forget my father and mother. They raised their children in the fear of the Lord. I never heard my parents argue. I do not even remember their having used a slang word, much less a word of profanity." His home was one of prayer "around the old family Bible," and God honored that home and those faithful parents so that "tonight all of their children know the Lord Jesus Christ as personal Saviour."³⁵

The sermon goes on to explain how God established marriage and the home in the Garden of Eden. This calls forth a recital of four verses of "Home, Sweet Home." A brief discussion of Jesus' home is followed by the alarming statement that "the great problem confronting the present world today is not Communism. The greatest problem confronting us tonight is the breakdown of the American home."

But it soon appears that these two problems are intimately connected. "A nation is only as strong as her homes" and therefore "One of the goals of Communism is to destroy the American home. If the Communists can destroy the American home and cause moral deterioration in this country, that group will have done to us what they did to France when the German armies invaded the Maginot line." There is no doubt "of what Satan is doing to destroy the morals of America and to break down our homes." The precise connection between Satan and communism and moral deterioration in the home is not made clear, but the frightful danger and magnitude of the problem is. A few statistics follow on the high divorce rate in America ("one divorce to every 3½ marriages") and then Graham describes the "many major enemies of the home": Among these are selfishness, unfaithfulness, alcohol, "maladjustment," jealousy, and the "spirit of the day" which has made "a laughing stock of marriage."

The spirit of the day is explained as the fact that "we have turned to the psychiatrist and we've turned to the psychologist and we have all sorts of books on the home . . . on how to rear children . . . and now, to top it all, we have the *Kinsey Report*" and "Mr. Anthony." But we have failed "to turn to God's word," and hence "there are more unhappy homes today than ever before in our history." Graham then turns to the Bible in order to show what God's rules for the home are. His first text is, "Wives submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord." One reason why the American home is breaking up is that "the home today . . . is not properly governed." "Some of you wives" may be shocked, he admits, especially those "of you who 'wear the trousers' in your family. . . ." But just as "Christ is the head of the church" so "the husband is the head of the wife." And the reason why women must submit to men is "Because of sin in the Garden of Eden, one of the curses God sent upon the woman was that the man shall rule over her." Of course, "That doesn't mean that the husband is to be a tyrant," but he is to wear the trousers.

Graham then quotes the Biblical explanation of the wife's

role in the home: "to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children. To be discreet, chaste, keepers of the home, good, obedient. . . ." In simple language, he says, this means when your husband comes home at night, "run out and meet him and give him a kiss. Give him love at any cost. Cultivate modesty and the delicacy of youth. Be attractive. . . . Keep the house clean. . . . Don't be a spendthrift. . . . Don't nag . . . don't gossip" and don't go gadding about to the theater or to card parties or "the corner tavern."

On the other hand, the husband is not to take his wife's love for granted. "Send her a box of candy. . . . Send her an orchid." "Too many men have neglected the home for the club, the lodge, the theater, or the tavern." Also "help bear your wife's burdens. . . . Listen, I'd rather plow in the field all day long than to stay at home and cook three meals and take care of the children one hour. . . . The woman has a harder job." If wives must not be spendthrifts, husbands must not be "tightwads." "Let your wife buy a new hat and dress once in awhile." "Be a gentleman, be courteous, be thoughtful. Do the little things that you know women like."

It is easy to see why this sort of spiritual advice appeals to his listeners, and Graham's sermonizing is spiced with just enough humor and anecdotes from his own experience to keep it from being pontifical. What makes his sermons more pietistic, more fundamentalistic, than those of the average Protestant pastor is first, his strict adherence to Biblical texts, and second, his insistence that the main job of the husband and wife is to rear their children so as to make them born-again Christians. All families should hold daily prayer together and say grace at all meals. "The old-fashioned family altar" is the center of the home. The reading of the Bible is to take the place of movies, the tavern, cards, and the gay social whirl. The trouble with marriage in America is "We've made a big joke out of it."

The sermon next turns to the children. "Now all you boys and girls that have been sitting there and taking it all in, we're coming to you soon." The Biblical text for them is "Children, obey your parents in all things." This brings up

the question of juvenile delinquency which, according to Graham, can be traced primarily to the lack of discipline in the home. "Our courts and our jails are filled; juvenile homes are crowded; our Nation is almost 'going to the dogs' because our young people have been undisciplined." Americans have forgotten the Biblical rule, "Chasten thy sons while there is hope, and let not thy soul spare for his crying." Which Graham explains, "In other words, he may cry; he may weep, he may be broken-hearted, but God says, 'Discipline and chasten, and whip if necessary to get the child to learn obedience.'" A child who will not be obedient to parental authority, Graham insists, will not be obedient to the laws of the nation.

Because the newspapers in the 1950's laid heavy stress upon the "crime wave" among juvenile delinquents, Graham made this particular problem a central one in his preaching. He has a ready explanation for the decline of parental authority in the home. "You know what the Devil's philosophy is today? Do as you please. Kick up your heels. Modern psychology is going along with the present program and psychologists are saying, 'Don't spank your children, you'll warp their personalities.'" Graham's attitude strikes a sympathetic chord among the members of the older generation in his audience. The fact that the young are abandoning the old ways has always seemed to their elders to presage trouble. And there is a certain frustrated vindictiveness in the desire of parents and grandparents (particularly fundamentalist parents and grandparents) to lay their hands upon the young and teach them a thing or two. "I stand here before you tonight a warped personality," says Graham ironically, "because I got plenty of spankings. I might not have received much head learning down in the hills of North Carolina, but there's one thing I got. There are plenty of callouses on my backbone that were put there by a razor strap." The proof that he who spareth the rod spoileth the child is all too evident to Graham. He offers an example in a story about a young son of a friend of his who brazenly ignored his father's polite request to close the door after he came into the room.

Having demonstrated the maddening impudence of this young wretch, Graham continues, "Brother, I'd like to have had that boy for five minutes. He'd have gone into the door shutting business for good. He'd shut every door in that community. We need some old-fashioned discipline in the home."

And then to drive home the point that discipline produces good people and lack of it produces bad ones: "I thought my dad was mighty strict, but as I look back I thank God for every time he punished me. I thank God for every time my father got on his knees in prayer for his boy. My father, with prayer and a hickory stick, led his boy into the ministry. . . ." Here is the simple solution to all the perplexing problems of the home, to all the worries over rebellious children and juvenile delinquency—perhaps even the answer to communism: "prayer and a hickory stick."³⁶ The sermon concludes with the time-honored evangelistic comparison between the God-honoring earthly home and the eternal divine home which Jesus has prepared for us in heaven: "I'm looking forward to getting home. What about you? It's a glorious home in the sky."

Graham has been fortunate as an evangelist in that the authoritarian and patriarchal tone of the Bible fits so neatly the contemporary attitude of many church people toward juvenile delinquency and toward public education. Revivalists thrive in an era of social and intellectual reorientation largely because their dogmatic answers cater to those who find it easier to look backward than forward. For many Americans it seemed easier in the 1950's to turn to the solutions that have worked in the past rather than to make the effort to find new ones.

Graham's treatment of juvenile delinquency and the American school system in other sermons gives ample evidence that there is a direct relationship between the current resurgence of the old-time religion and the current wave of neoconservatism in American political and intellectual life. In his sermon on "The Answer to Broken Homes" in which the Christ-centered home is offered as the "one great insur-

ance policy" against divorce, Graham remarks of the broken home that "Just as Communism, it is another threat to the American way of life." And in his sermon on "America's Immorality" he attributes juvenile delinquency to "the wave of behavioristic philosophy that swept our college campuses and permeated the high school classrooms. . . . Puritanical ideals are scorned . . . God is old-fashioned. The Supreme Court has decided that the Bible shall not be taught in the schools. What else can we expect." Lumping together Friedrich Nietzsche, Sigmund Freud, Friedrich Schleiermacher, and John Dewey as the philosophical progenitors of the twentieth century, Graham denounces "our educational leaders" for undermining American morality: "Moral standards of yesterday to many individuals are no standard for today unless supported by the so-called 'intellectuals.'" ³⁷ And Graham rolls the term "so-called intellectuals" off his tongue with grandiloquent scorn.

One of the most striking aspects of Graham's approach to juvenile delinquency is his apparent willingness to emulate the disciplinary measures and ideological indoctrination methods of the totalitarian systems. For example, when he was holding his crusade in New York City in the summer of 1957, he proposed to Governor Averell Harriman that New York might solve its juvenile delinquency problem by setting up "youth camps . . . on a semi-military basis with educational programs on Americanism and special courses of religious instruction." ³⁸ And a year later he told an audience in Charlotte, North Carolina, "In Russia today young people are disciplined" and hence the Russians have few difficulties with drunkenness, pornography, or idleness. "They have an ideology. They have a control." Juvenile delinquency is no problem, he said, in a nation which is dedicated to a strong ideology: "And ladies and gentlemen, I believe that one of the problems among teen-agers today is that they need something to believe in. They need a cause. They need a challenge, they need a flag to follow. They want a master, they want someone to control them, just as Hitler was able to get the youth of Germany and Mussolini was able to get

the youth of Italy and the Communists were able to get the youth of Eastern Europe.”³⁹ Graham is not, of course, advocating a dictatorship in America. He is urging young people to dedicate themselves to Christ. Yet this authoritarian presentation of Christianity as an ideological alternative to communism is scarcely the appeal to individual freedom which, on other occasions, he portrays as the central theme of Christian teaching. Moreover, this approach leads him into a portrayal of the founder of Christianity which is scarcely recognizable. Christ, he says, was “every inch a ‘He-man.’” “Christ was probably the strongest man physically that ever lived. He could have been a star athlete on any team. He was a real man, with His strong shoulders, His squarish jaw. . . .”⁴⁰

Yet at the same time that he advocates more discipline, more leadership and indoctrination, Graham also speaks of the need for more love. Quoting a “prominent sociologist” he says in his sermon “Our Teen-age Problem,” “The biggest trouble is that there doesn’t seem to be enough love to go around any more.” He also mixes psychology with his pietism when he goes on to say, “Unloved, unwanted children become resentful, rebellious children.”

At the heart of Graham’s approach to the sins of the home, the evils of juvenile delinquency, and the immoralities of society lies his belief that all sin is personal and that it can be cured only by conversion. “That’s the reason I concentrate on the individualistic gospel, because I don’t think you can clean up a community until you have got men’s hearts right.”⁴¹ Conversion makes a man love his neighbors and once a man loves his neighbors all problems will cease. Slum clearance, playgrounds, juvenile courts, and psychological counseling are all mere palliatives. “The best way to combat juvenile delinquency is not by setting up more social agencies to deal with the problem but to restore the old-fashioned home where disobedience and disrespect are frowned upon.”⁴² Graham seldom sees beyond personal sins to the social nature of sin. Just as conversions can miraculously transform an evil man into one of God’s

elect overnight, so, Graham believes, a revival can convert great masses of men and transform a whole social system overnight. "I believe if we can get enough young people to Jesus Christ," he said in Charlotte, North Carolina, "that we can go out and change Mecklenburg County. We can change North Carolina." In fact, he said, "There is enough power among young people in America today to change America and change the world if that power were harnessed and given to Jesus Christ."⁴³

Customs, traditions, economic and political systems all can be reformed quickly, easily, and completely by "an old-fashioned, heaven-sent, Holy Ghost revival." "Systems are wrong," he maintains, "only because men are wrong at heart."⁴⁴ Or as he put it more explicitly, "No matter how much we tend to think of sin as a social something, it will forever remain true that social groups are groups of individuals. The real problem is always with the individual. . . . Many people are confident that legislation will solve our problems. Our problem is deeper than that. It is the constant problem of the sinner before God."⁴⁵ In short, the problem is too deep for legislation and requires supernatural assistance through revivals. On the other hand, it is so simple that everyone can work for it by saving souls.

It is true, no doubt, that deep-rooted problems cannot be solved simply by legislative fiat. But there is something escapist about Graham's view that social justice can only be attained by a miracle which would transform every American. Graham is giving voice to that strong perfectionist streak in American pietism which, by refusing to be satisfied with anything less than a perfect social order, leads to a refusal to make any effort to alter the status quo. It is this type of thinking that brings criticism of Graham's attitude toward the segregation issue.

For the first fifteen years of his ministry Graham not only did not express any sympathy for equal rights for Negroes, he did not even attempt to apply Christianity to their problems. When he became an evangelist he followed the pattern set by Moody, Sunday, Sam Jones, and all previous

evangelists who held meetings in the South. Negroes who attended his meetings were directed to sit in "reserved seats" in a special section. He dodged the responsibility for this by stating that the arrangements for seating in his campaigns were left up to the local committee. Even in cities like Greensboro, North Carolina, where Graham held a meeting in the fall of 1951 and where there was no legal restriction against mixed seating at public religious meetings, Graham took no stand and let his committee arrange a Jim Crow section (with the result that the Negro pastors of the city respectfully refused their cooperation).⁴⁶ Yet in his book, *Peace with God*, written in 1953, Graham said that "the church has failed" to deal adequately with the race problem; the church "should have been the pacesetter" in granting equal rights to Negroes. But apparently he did not feel that as an evangelist it was his responsibility to help the churches set the pace.

Since the Supreme Court's decision in 1954, Graham has changed his stand and has refused to conduct revivals in Southern cities which will not permit mixed seating. Yet he still maintains that "in the final analysis the only real solution will be found at the foot of the cross where we come together in brotherly love."⁴⁷ And he asserts, "The one great answer to our racial problem is for men and women to be converted to Christ."⁴⁸ His most forthright statement on civil rights, made in New York City in 1957, was "Certainly we need civil rights legislation. We should do all we can to make sure that no man's rights are limited because of his race or creed or color. But in order to establish race relations that conform to the Christian principles on which our country was founded, we need love."⁴⁹

Because he has failed to clarify his position on segregation Graham has been attacked by both sides in the controversy. Governor George Bell Timmerman of South Carolina asserted in October, 1958, that Graham was "a widely known advocate of desegregation" and Timmerman protested against Graham's proposal to hold a mixed religious service on the lawn of the state capitol. Although the gov-

ernor could not have legally prevented this meeting and said that he would not try to do so, Graham preferred to avoid controversy and moved the service to a nearby army camp. The meeting at the army camp was not segregated, but Graham took particular pains to provide a special seat on his platform for former South Carolina Governor James Byrnes, who is a leader of the opposition to integration in the South. Graham made no mention of segregation in his address and in a statement to newsmen merely remarked, "God pity us [Christians] if we let our differences [on segregation] prevent us from presenting Christ and his message to a lost world."⁵⁰

It seems evident that a great deal of Graham's popularity in the 1950's stems from the fact that he purposely avoids controversy on divisive issues and generally stresses the old folkways and values on which most churchgoers agree.⁵¹ It is not hard to see why the bulk of his revival sermons deal with problems of the home and of individual morality. In this area his effort to make the nation re-examine its past as it faces new social and moral problems may have certain virtues. If human nature is always the same, then perhaps some problems of personal morality are subject to unequivocal definition.

But a moralistic, legalistic traditionalism is hardly a constructive approach in the area of contemporary politics and economics. The changing relations of groups of men, the advances of technology, and the shifting national and international alignments do not follow such simple and familiar patterns as marriage and the family. Nevertheless Graham continually tries to evaluate the complex problems of national and international affairs as though they were reducible to simple moral terms of right and wrong. And frequently, in dealing with national policies, this moralistic approach, imbued as it is with the spirit of individualistic evangelicalism, has given his sermons a politically partisan tone. D. L. Moody and Billy Sunday frankly admitted their dedication to the Republican party. Graham's partisanship has been camouflaged by a professed apoliticalism.

Politics and World Affairs

I am completely neutral in politics.

BILLY GRAHAM ¹

Billy Graham once explained the great upsurge in interest in religion in the 1950's by saying: "The human mind cannot cope with the problems that we are wrestling with today. And when our intellectual leaders begin to admit that they don't know the answer, and that fact reaches the masses in the street, then they are going to turn somewhere. They will turn to all sorts of escapisms. Some will turn to alcohol. Others will turn to religion in the want of security and peace—something to hold onto."² Insofar as he spoke for those who wanted a simple and easy answer to the world's problems, his analysis was not far wrong.

In the aftermath of World War II the American people faced a series of unprecedented challenges which left them baffled, frustrated, and increasingly irritated. The imminent economic and political collapse of western Europe necessitated a program of foreign aid which not only stretched the financial resources of the United States but also necessitated greater involvement in European affairs than ever before. The collapse of the grand alliance of World War II and the recognition that Britain was now a second-rate power pushed the United States into a role of world leadership for which

it had no experience and little taste. The failure of the peace conferences and the inability of the United Nations to function effectively within the limits of the veto power produced a sense of frustration surpassing that which followed the Versailles Treaty and the failures of the League of Nations. When Soviet communism began to press forward in one area of the globe after another, a hastily worked out plan of "containment" produced a host of entangling alliances which the average man distrusted and feared. In many parts of the globe American policy seemed to necessitate the support of reactionary and dictatorial regimes. This in turn involved the United States in the nationalistic upsurge in those underdeveloped areas of the world which were ripe for rebellion against the decadent colonialism of Europe. Economic and military assistance to these areas led to further international commitments. The average American picked up his morning paper with increasing apprehension. The United States was now mixed up in everything, everywhere. The tensions between "the West" and "the Communist bloc" produced what was rightly called a "war of nerves" or "the cold war." The traditionally pacifist and isolationist Americans were once again caught in an international maelstrom. Then the policy of containing communism reached a breaking point. In the summer of 1950 the Communist-directed invasion of South Korea compelled the United States and its allies to prove the seriousness of their purpose. The advent of a new war only five years after the cessation of the old one produced a psychological explosion which shook America to its roots.

Billy Graham's popularity was part of the grass-roots reaction to the whole traumatic postwar experience. In some respects it might be said that Graham's revivals represented a positive aspect of this reaction while the Congressional investigations of un-Americanism, subversion, and corruption represented a negative aspect. Congressmen like Nixon, Jenner, Velde, and McCarthy fulfilled the impulsive urge to find likely scapegoats who could be blamed for leading the United States into its frightening predicament,

while Billy Graham fulfilled an equally strong impulse to reaffirm the old ideals and values which had given meaning and order to American life in the past. The political processes of democracy helped absorb some of the shock of this postwar readjustment. With unerring skill the political leaders of the Republican party (the "loyal" opposition) seized upon the issues of communism, Korea, and corruption in the 1952 presidential campaign. They pinned upon the Age of Roosevelt the title "Twenty Years of Treason" and returned to power with the slogan, "It's time for a change."

But there was more than a coincidental connection between Billy Graham's religious crusade and General Eisenhower's political crusade. It was inevitable that Graham, in his effort to awaken the nation to its old spiritual traditions, would lend something more than tacit support to Eisenhower's effort to "clean up the mess in Washington," to root out subversives in government, and to provide a new moral leadership which would be incorruptible. As Graham informed his followers immediately after the election, "It has been my privilege during the past year to talk with Mr. Eisenhower on two occasions. I have been deeply impressed by his sincerity, humility, and tremendous grasp of world affairs. I also sense a dependence upon God. He told me on both occasions that the hope of building a better America lay in a spiritual revival." And Graham added reassuringly, "Another thing that encourages me about Mr. Eisenhower is that he is taking advice from some genuine, born-again Christians." The title of the sermon in which he made these statements early in 1953 was "Peace in Our Time."

Officially Billy Graham is registered as a Democrat, but so is almost everyone in North Carolina. It is an amusing coincidence that he is registered as a voter in the county of Buncombe, for Graham is certainly far from being a supporter of the New Deal-Fair Deal philosophy which has been associated with the Democratic party since 1932. As an evangelist, of course, Graham persistently says that

he is neither a Democrat nor a Republican and that he does not bring politics into his revival preaching. But even if it were true that he left all partisan issues out of his sermons, which it is not, it would still be a foregone conclusion that Graham, like every other major evangelist since the anti-slavery crusade began, had far more in common with the political, economic, and social philosophy of the Republican party than with that of the Democratic party.

The connecting link between professional evangelists and the Republican party has been a mutual belief in rugged individualism. The affinity between capitalism and the Protestant ethic has been amply demonstrated by sociologists and economists like Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, and Richard H. Tawney. Calvinism in particular emphasized the virtues of hard work, thrift, sobriety, and honesty, and it implicitly assured its followers that a man who was diligent in his business and in his piety would prosper by the grace of God. Contrarily, the lazy, thriftless, impious man received his just deserts in poverty and hell-fire. The Puritans and other Calvinists carried this doctrine to America, where it flourished so vigorously in the free atmosphere of the New World that, by the end of the nineteenth century, Protestant ministers like Henry Ward Beecher and evangelists like D. L. Moody confidently asserted that Christianity and economic individualism were two sides of the same coin. "It is a wonderful fact," said Moody, "that men and women saved by the blood of Jesus rarely remain subjects of charity, but rise at once to comfort and respectability."³ And Billy Sunday similarly asserted in 1915, "I never saw a Christian hitting the ties and panhandling; I never saw a Christian that was a hobo. . . . They that trust in the Lord do not want for anything."⁴

Billy Graham is equally committed to the belief that Christianity and capitalism, like conversion and success, are inseparably linked and that one cannot exist without the other. When Graham speaks of "the American way of life" he has in mind the same combination of political and economic freedom that the National Association of Manufac-

turers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the *Wall Street Journal* do when they use the phrase. And because the Democratic party has, since the 1890's, attacked Big Business and Wall Street and called for government regulation of the economic system in the interests of the general welfare, Graham, like the majority of American Protestant ministers, has cast his influence upon the side of the Republicans (or, in the South, the conservative Democrats). Evangelical Christianity emphasizes not only the necessity for each individual's making his own way into heaven but also the necessity for his making his own way on earth. Like the economist Adam Smith, who defined laissez-faire capitalism in terms of the divine hand of Providence guiding the self-interest of each toward the best interests of all, the professional evangelist has always maintained that if each man would reform himself and run his own business honestly, the economic and social problems of the world would solve themselves.

Without realizing it, Graham endorses the Protestant ethic in its entirety. He denounces laziness or sloth as one of the seven deadly sins and claims "It has kept the hobo from a life of respectability."⁵ Frugality is as much a virtue to Graham as it was to Cotton Mather or Benjamin Franklin: "The Bible teaches and encourages a normal degree of thrift."⁶ And Graham is as certain as Henry Ward Beecher and the Rev. Horatio Alger that hard work and push will raise any enterprising young man from office boy to corporation president. In 1953 he noted as one of the signs of American decadence that "the youth of this country has lost its drive, its push, its willingness to work and get ahead." Young people today "aren't filled with the spirit that makes work a joy" or "with the determination that makes pushing ahead a pleasure."⁷

One of the first motion pictures which Graham produced for his "film ministry" dealt with the story of Houston, Texas. Graham called the movie "Oiltown, U.S.A." and advertised it as "the story of the free enterprise of America—the story of the development and use of God-given nat-

ural resources by men who have built a great new empire." His sermons are filled with direful references to "the dangers that face capitalistic America" and with eulogistic references to the free enterprise system brought over by the Puritans and "the rugged individualism that Christ brought." It is essential, he believes, that Americans continue to be "devoted to the individualism that made America great."⁸ The American way of life, he has said over and over again, "is in growing danger." And he urges his listeners to "come back to Christ who gave us these freedoms which are threatened."

There are three particular dangers which Graham feels threaten the economic freedom of the American way of life. The first is corrupt or power-hungry labor leaders, the second is unnecessary strikes which might hurt the economy, and the third is socialistic legislation or "government restrictions" which would destroy the God-given "freedom of opportunity." Because Graham hopes to "reach the masses" with his message, he is very circumspect in his treatment of the problems of capital and labor. But it is not difficult to see the bias implicit in his description of the Garden of Eden as that happy place where there are "no union dues, no labor leaders, no snakes, no disease."⁹ Nor is it particularly complimentary of Graham to link "labor unrest" with the hydrogen bomb and an "inevitable conflict with Russia" as a reason for the revival of religious interest in America.¹⁰ In 1950 Graham complained "the coal strike may paralyze the nation," and in 1952 he warned that the steel strike would have an adverse effect on the success of American forces in Korea. He said in one sermon, "There is a revolution in the industrial world. On one particular day in New York City there were more than 200 strikes going on at the same time."¹¹ And then he added, "This is a time in the industrial world when capital and labor need to rethink their positions or we are in serious danger of losing the freedom for which our forefathers bled and died." He told a reporter in Pittsburgh that among other things "The type of revival I'm calling for is the type . . . that calls for an

employee to put in a full eight hours of work.”¹² He emphasized that a Christian worker “would not stoop to take unfair advantage” of his employer through the strength of his union.¹³ And he indicated his belief that most union men were not Christians when he stated in a Labor Day sermon in 1952, “I believe that organized labor unions are one of the greatest mission fields in America today.” Hence “Wouldn’t it be great if, as we celebrate Labor Day, our labor leaders would lead the laboring man in America in repentance and faith in Jesus Christ?”¹⁴ In the same message he warned that “certain labor leaders would like to outlaw religion, disregard God, the church, and the Bible. . . .”

In all of these remarks, Graham’s carefully chosen words left the impression that labor unions and labor leaders were somehow a force of unrest and danger in America. While he nowhere specifically attacked either unions or their leaders, his innuendos are by no means lost upon his predominantly middle-class white-collar audiences. While Graham asserts that “The church should be impartial toward the labor union as it is to other economic groups” he seemed to welcome the McClellan committee’s Congressional investigation of corrupt labor practices in 1957 and injected references to its work in his sermons. In April, 1957, he called upon the unions to “clean house,” and a few months later he said that if they did not do so it would be the duty of Congress to provide coercive legislation to curb them.¹⁵ Graham was not leading public opinion in these remarks but he was helping to solidify it.

Two of Graham’s favorite texts in reference to labor are “Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth” and “It is the Lord thy God that giveth thee power to get wealth.” His comment upon the latter is, “Irrespective of what the union may gain for you, remember that all you shall ever have comes from the hand of God.”¹⁶ But his most typical utterance on “the problem of capital and labor” is that “If Christ reigned in these labor discussions, the industrial strike that has caused so much heartache and

even death would soon be at an end in this country and we would enter an industrial utopia.”¹⁷ While Graham claims that the gospel is the ultimate answer to labor unrest, he also finds hope in the growth of what he, and the National Association of Manufacturers, call “People’s capitalism.” “Most big business today is actually owned by hundreds and thousands of people who invest in stocks. There are many great business corporations in America that are now sharing the profit with their employees. Each employee feels that he is also part of the business. More and more Management and Labor are becoming working partners.”¹⁸ If only someone would tell the labor leaders, he says, that they should join hands with management instead of fighting them, this would put an end to many mischievous and unnecessary labor quarrels.

Like Billy Sunday, Graham includes on his team of experts a number of associate evangelists who have the task in each crusade of visiting the local shops, factories, and mills to preach the gospel to the working class. Naturally the businessmen who support his campaigns encourage Graham’s associates to preach to their workers. Graham’s semiofficial biographer, Stanley High, states, “In scores of industrial plants in the United States and Great Britain employer-employee relations have improved as a result of prayer groups established during the Billy Graham meetings and maintained thereafter.”¹⁹ A conservative British periodical asserted during Graham’s revival in London in 1954 that one of the crusade’s principal objectives was to “infiltrate key positions . . . in movements like the trade unions. Instead of key jobs going to Communists they should go to Christians.”²⁰

The connection which Graham and many of his supporters implicitly made between unionism, socialism, and communism involved Graham in two amusing but revealing controversies in Britain in 1954. Graham, like many political conservatives, has always believed that socialism is the first step down the slippery road to communism and that continued interference with free enterprise either by

labor unions or government legislation will inevitably lead to communism. This of course was the crux of Herbert Hoover's quarrels with Franklin Roosevelt in the 1930's. The debate over the virtues of the New Deal and the Welfare State resumed with great ferocity in the postwar years. When the British forsook Winston Churchill's Tory government in 1945 for Clement Attlee and the Labour party, it was a great blow to Graham and other American advocates of free enterprise. Early in his career Graham began to lump together "Communism, atheism, and socialism" as enemies of the American way of life. Speaking in front of the capitol building at Austin, Texas, in April, 1952, Graham announced, "We must have a revolt against the tranquil attitude to[ward] communism, socialism, and dictatorship in this country."²¹ And in Houston, a month later, he told a group of 850 wealthy businessmen at a hotel luncheon, "Within five years we can say good-bye to England when Aneurin Bevan takes over. Japan could go Communist within two years. The United States is being isolated."²² He told his radio listeners in June, 1952, that he and his team might soon go to Britain in an effort to halt the steady trend toward "Marxian socialism" in that country. He warned that if Americans did not abandon their materialistic outlook "we may soon go the same way."²³ A year later he announced in Dallas that his plans were set for a revival crusade in London. England is a country "more pagan than France" he reportedly told the Texans. "Behind the pageantry of the coronation . . . Britain's moral strength is so low that America could well suffer."²⁴

It was therefore perfectly consistent with Graham's attitude toward labor and socialism when the following statement appeared in a 1954 calendar distributed free by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association to those of his radio audience who wrote in for it: "There will always be an England. But will it always be the England we have known? The England of history has been an England whose life both national and individual was ever centered

upon the things of God. But something happened during the war years of '40-'45 and following. Through fear-haunted days and never-ending nights the German bombs turned England's homes and churches into fire-blackened rubble. And when the war ended a sense of frustration and disillusionment gripped England and what Hitler's bombs could not do, socialism with its accompanying evils shortly accomplished. England's historic faith faltered. The churches still standing were gradually emptied."²⁵

Graham failed to realize how this would strike the considerable number of very devout (but not exactly fundamentalist) Christians who supported the democratic socialism of the British Labour party. When a copy of the calendar with this squib reached the pro-Labour columnist of the *London Daily Herald*, Hannen Swaffer, three days before Graham was due to arrive in London to start his crusade, Swaffer published a stinging rebuke: "So the Billy Graham mission apparently is leaving a country where, according to Senator Kefauver, 'a national crime syndicate exists . . . ' to convert from 'Socialism and its accompanying evils' a London which boasts the cleanest and most efficient municipal government possessed by any big city in the world! . . . Socialism indeed, by ushering in the Welfare State, saved Britain from degradations of poverty and injustice that might have brought about a revolution. More, its way to power was made more easy by the social crusade led by Dr. Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury. . . . What does Billy Graham mean by the 'evil consequences' of Socialism? The abolition of the Poor Law? The National Health Service of which Pat Hornsby-Smith recently boasted in the States—until the American Medical Association complained—as though it were a Tory measure? Town planning? Family Allowances? Improved educational facilities? I urge the Bishop of Barking [one of Graham's London supporters] to disown this ignorant nonsense before the Big Business evangelist whom he sponsors, opens his crusade. I challenge him to deny that dry-rot in Church attendance

began long before we had a Socialist majority. . . . And I urge him to call Billy Graham to repentance before he has the effrontery to start converting us!"²⁶

Swaffer's revelation of Graham's reasons for coming to Britain disconcerted and shocked a number of Labour Members of Parliament who belonged to the Socialist Christian Group which had planned a dinner in Graham's honor at the House of Commons. They declared that they would attend no such dinner until Graham explained his position. Graham's supporters in England were equally stunned by the angry protests which followed the Swaffer article. Cablegrams began to reach Graham on board the liner "United States" three days from London. Graham at once cabled an explanation to his committee in London and sent a message to the editor of the *London Daily Herald*: "I have had my attention called to an article in Saturday's *Herald*. I deeply regret the situation which prompted it, one which was without my knowledge or authorization. By now I believe a full explanation is in your hands, but if in addition to the explanation you feel an apology to the Labour Party is needed you certainly have that, Sir. Sincerely, Billy Graham."²⁷

Then, feeling that perhaps more was needed, Graham talked with the editor of the *Herald* on a ship-to-shore telephone: "It is all a horrible mistake," he said. "I never attacked Socialism. I can't tell the people of Britain how sorry I am. Secularism, not Socialism, is the word we meant. The calendar was written by an advertising firm in New York and I gather the word socialism was used as meaning secularism."²⁸ The Bishop of Barking, who like Graham, had little liking for socialism, nevertheless asked the Labour M. P.'s to reconsider their refusal to attend a dinner in Graham's honor. One of the Labour M. P.'s, Mr. Edward Evans, announced to the press that he would not attend such a dinner. He described Graham's explanation as a "fatuous disclaimer."²⁹ Graham's public relations director did not make matters better by trying to soothe British feelings with the remark that in America socialism and

secularism meant the same thing. Members of Graham's executive committee in London refused to believe Graham's explanation. They told the editor of the *Daily Herald*, "The word socialism, when used [in the Graham calendar] was used deliberately." However, they went on, "It was used in the American sense with a small 's.' In that sense it has no political meaning of the kind it has in Britain." When asked why Graham had claimed that socialism was a typographical error for secularism, the spokesman for the London committee answered with a smile, "You caught him on the High Seas without his documents or his adviser."³⁰

The frankness of the London committee, the naive dismay expressed by Graham at his error, and the immediate and humble apology mollified all but his bitter opponents. The London crusade, and even the House of Commons dinner, went on as scheduled and apparently the revival did not seriously suffer. But Graham's American supporters, who had raised half of the money to meet the London expenses, must have been somewhat puzzled by his remark a few days after he landed in London: "I am not anti-Socialist, anti-Liberal, or anti-Conservative. I have not even come here to fight Communism. I am completely neutral in politics."³¹

The problem of Graham's political conservatism came up a second time in London after he had left the city and returned to the United States. This second controversy grew out of Graham's connection with Kenneth de Courcy, editor of the extremely conservative *Intelligence Digest* of London. In September, 1954, De Courcy advertised in the *London Times* the inauguration of the *London Free Press*, a new paper which would, he said, have "a strong editorial slant fully supporting the Billy Graham message." The *British Weekly*, an interdenominational religious journal published in London and Edinburgh which had given Graham's revival strong support, expressed dismay that Graham would permit his name to be utilized by this "ultra-right wing" editor who had for years attacked the Labour party. A staff member of the *British Weekly* interviewed De

Courcy and quoted him as saying, "I am convinced it is impossible for a Biblical Christian to be a socialist. If you accept the Biblical view of history you are forced to adopt a position of extreme political conservatism."³² De Courcy was a supporter of High Church Anglicanism and an admirer of the Bishop of Croydon, but in the conservative climate of the 1950's there was not a great deal of difference between the political views of many high churchmen and many fundamentalists. It was to this clientele that De Courcy's journals catered.

The *Intelligence Digest* had devoted considerable space to exalting Graham as "the most important single figure in the religious world today." The April, 1954, issue of that journal had a long article describing what it called the current "Revolution in America" of which it claimed that Graham was the leader. According to the anonymous writer of this article (presumably De Courcy himself) this revolution, which had been under way for some time, was directed by religious and conservative people against "Washington corruption," formal religion, materialistic education, Communist agencies which "were at work in the very heart of the Administration—directing American policy to suit Russia," and "a powerful propaganda" machine with "left-wing political associations" which "was teaching Americans to distrust and despise the very spirit of enterprise and adventure which made America great and powerful." Because of Graham's religious leadership in this revolution said De Courcy, the *Intelligence Digest* "investigated" his views and found "He is without doubt not very partial to Socialism."

De Courcy invited Graham to lunch with him as soon as he reached London in February, 1954. "Dr. Graham twice lunched at the *Intelligence Digest* offices," De Courcy reported to his readers in April, "and has on both occasions proved of absorbing interest. We have been tempted to ask him to address a meeting of our readers."³³ It was evidently at these luncheon meetings that De Courcy made arrangements with Graham to reprint some of his sermons in the *Intelligence Digest Supplement*. De Courcy hoped,

he wrote, that Graham's revival would reach "the vast industrial masses" who are "almost totally materialistic." If Graham could do that he might help to influence the next national election in Britain. "Dr. Graham preaches that it is sinful to covet; yet Socialism is based upon that very thing. The Socialist covets what belongs to others and asks for Parliamentary sanction to take it. The implication of Dr. Graham's preaching is that such a form of Socialism is wrong. Dr. Graham says that to go slow on a job is to steal time for which someone has paid. This has distinct political implications. He preaches supreme parental responsibility whereas the Socialist believes that the State should partly assume that which Dr. Graham preaches is the duty of the parents. There can be little doubt that a major evangelical awakening would detach hundreds of thousands, if not millions from the Socialist concept."³⁴

The article in the *British Weekly* in September, 1954, which called attention to De Courcy's use of Graham's name in order to advertise the *London Free Press* aroused anew the cries which Swaffer had raised in February. Graham had announced that he would return to Britain in 1955 to lead a crusade in Glasgow, and many Scottish ministers feared that if the working class were to associate Graham with De Courcy's obviously anti-Labour policies, they would never come to hear Graham. One of Graham's sponsors reportedly flew to America to obtain his explanation of this newest disclosure. The editor of the *British Weekly*, Shaun Herron, said that Graham should publicly announce that he had no connection with politics, with De Courcy's editorial policies, or with the *London Free Press*. Graham wrote a letter to Herron some weeks later stating, "It is difficult to understand why I should keep giving assurances in Britain that I have no political intentions. . . . I do not intend to be taken over by any political slant, nor do I intend to represent any political viewpoint. However, I cannot help the editorial support of any paper, whether it be extreme right or extreme left. I do not intend to repudiate anybody who may or may not support us. . . . I am just not going to get

involved with politicians. . . . I have never seen or heard of the *London Free Press* although Jerry Beavan now informs me that he knew of its existence.”³⁵ (Graham had, of course, heard of the *Intelligence Digest*, though he did not say so in this letter, and he had been quoting De Courcy’s editorial remarks in his sermons since 1951.)³⁶ The editor of the *British Weekly* deplored Graham’s “remarkable *naivete* in dealing with political matters” and expressed disappointment that Graham had not seen fit to discourage De Courcy from using his name. Nevertheless Graham’s Glasgow crusade did not seem to suffer from his *gaffe* any more than the London crusade had suffered from his earlier one—which may have been some indication that very few of the working class attended either campaign.

These tempests over Graham’s attitude toward the Labour party in Britain were scarcely noted in America, but no one who listened attentively to Graham’s sermons could avoid agreeing with De Courcy that they expressed the sentiments of many of those conservative Americans who considered the New Deal–Fair Deal policies to be socialistic and hence detrimental. Graham was, if anything, less subtle in displaying his animosity toward the Democratic administration of Harry Truman than his animosity toward the labor unions. In a sermon delivered in January, 1951, he said, “The vultures are now encircling our debt-ridden inflationary economy with its fifteen-year record of deficit finance and with its staggering national debt, to close in for the kill.”³⁷ The local newspaper of Columbia, South Carolina, remarked of one of his sermons there, “Mr. Graham tossed in a broadside at the deficit spending of the federal government declaring that if it is not stopped it will drag America into another depression.”³⁸ In the fall of 1951 he predicted “an economic downfall” for America if the “give-away” program of foreign aid to Europe continued much longer. “The whole Western world is begging for more dollars—the barrel is almost empty—when it is empty—what then?”³⁹ He informed his audiences that “each one of us—adult or child—pays \$2.50 a week for the Marshall Plan” but he said that

Marshall aid was not winning friends in Europe, for the Europeans resented handouts. In another sermon he maintained that one CARE package does more good than all the Marshall Plan aid.⁴⁰ This "give-away program is breaking our economic back" he declared six weeks before the election of 1952. "Where is it going to end? The American people want to know."⁴¹ Graham's attitude toward Point Four aid to underdeveloped countries was equally disparaging. "Their greatest need is not more money, food, or even medicine; it is Christ. . . . Give them the Gospel of love and grace first and they will clean themselves up, educate themselves, and better their economic conditions."⁴²

But his dislike for foreign aid and deficit spending was merely one of his minor complaints against the policies of Roosevelt and Truman. His major complaints were that the Democrats had permitted too much corruption and immorality in government, that they had been soft on communism and allowed subversives to hold key positions, that they had betrayed Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee by playing into the hands of the Russians at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam, that they had led the country into the Korean War without consulting the people, that once in the war they had failed to carry it through to total victory, and that they placed entirely too much faith in the United Nations. Graham did not adopt these views because the Republican party adopted them. His background, education, and theology all helped make them the natural ones for him. But it was probably his close association with some of the conservative Christian businessmen who supported his campaigns which more than anything else crystallized his views on politics and economics.

Graham's comments on partisan issues were sometimes mere hints or innuendos mixed in with general statements about the decadence of American morality or the dangerous era in which we live, but sometimes he allowed himself to be quite pointed in his comments. Many of his most partisan remarks have been made to his radio listeners on the grounds that it is a primary function of the "Hour of Deci-

sion" broadcast to provide a Christian interpretation of current events. Graham repeatedly told his radio listeners, "I hope you will make it a regular Sunday afternoon habit to listen to the 'Hour of Decision' as we shall keep you abreast of fast-moving world events and try to interpret them for you in the light of Scripture."⁴³ Since he is introduced each week as "a man with God's message for these crisis days" he apparently sees himself as a combination of Christian news analyst and Biblical prophet.

During the years 1951-1952 Graham's attacks on corruption in government gradually built up to a crescendo that coincided with the election campaign. Early in 1951 he merely lumped this charge with other moral iniquities of the day: "How long is this pure God going to endure our divorce rate, our teen-age morals, our immorality in government circles, our truce-breaking, our drunkenness, our swearing?"⁴⁴ Then, as Congressional committees began to expose alleged illegalities in the conduct of government bureaus like the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Internal Revenue Department, he mentioned these as specifically shocking examples of the nation's moral decay. In a Christmas letter sent to his radio listeners in December, 1951, he listed "moral collapse" as one of the "fundamental dangers of the day" and described it as follows: "A moral collapse—the recent investigations by Congressional committees only scratch the surface of immorality in high places—we are breaking apart from inside." Speaking on the steps of the Capitol in Washington on February 23, 1952, to a throng of thirty thousand, he warned, "We must continue to expose crimes and irregularities in government wherever they may be found and enact strong legislation to deal with them."⁴⁵ Throughout the summer of 1952 references to corruption and immorality in high places continued, and finally by September he was using the current Republican campaign slogan, "We must clean up the mess in Washington." "We all seem to agree," he told a reporter in Pittsburgh at the start of his revival there two months before the election, "there's a mess in Washington."⁴⁶ In his open-

ing sermon in Pittsburgh he remarked coyly, "All the trouble in Russia started in the Garden of Eden. All the mess in—I mustn't be political—I started to say this mess in Washington, but I'll just say the mess in my hometown of Asheville, North Carolina, started with Adam."⁴⁷

Graham's comments on the closely related political issue of Communist infiltration into the government were equally pointed in these years. Sometimes, as in his sermon in Austin, Texas, he merely expressed fear over "the tranquil attitude to[ward] communism" in the country at large, or warned that "Communists and left-wingers" could sabotage the United States, or said there was "a fifth column in our midst." But during the height of the investigations into subversion in government conducted by the Jenner, Velde, and McCarthy committees, Graham said frankly, "While nobody likes a watch dog, and for that reason many investigation committees are unpopular, I thank God for men who, in the face of public denouncement and ridicule, go loyally on in their work of exposing the pinks, the lavenders, and the reds who have sought refuge beneath the wings of the American eagle and from that vantage point, try in every subtle, undercover way to bring comfort, aid, and help to the greatest enemy we have ever known—communism."⁴⁸

For Graham, as for most frightened Americans, the dangers of communism were twofold. There was first the intellectual danger that Communists might somehow undermine Americans' faith in their own ideals by infiltrating into schools, colleges, unions, social organizations, the entertainment field, and the churches. The second was that they might infiltrate the American State Department, the armed services, and the military research projects and there help betray the nation to the Soviet Union through treasonous activity. The latter problem inevitably involved the question of foreign policy, past and present, and provided a simple explanation for America's international difficulties in terms of individual traitors. Graham lent his efforts to both aspects.

In the winter of 1950-1951 when the term McCarthyism

was just being born, Graham was telling his audiences about "over 1100 social sounding organizations that are communist or communist operated in this country. They control the minds of a great segment of our people; the infiltration of the left wing . . . both pink and red into the intellectual strata of America" has gone so far that our "educational [and] religious culture is almost beyond repair. . . ." ⁴⁹ Communism, he said at a later date, "has attracted some of our famous entertainers, some of our keenest politicians, and some of our outstanding educators." ⁵⁰ "There is a cancer eating at the heart and core of the American way of life, subversive groups seek to destroy us, Communists are doing their deadly work in government, education, and even in religion." ⁵¹

When Senator McCarthy called for a revision of the Fifth Amendment so that witnesses before his committee could not invoke it, Graham told his radio audience that if it would take a change in the Constitution to ferret out the Communists and fellow travelers, "Then let's do it." ⁵² When Graham went to London in 1954 he was asked his opinion of McCarthy: "I have never met McCarthy, corresponded with him, exchanged telegrams or telephoned him. I have no comments to make on the senator." Pressed further as to whether a Christian should not have some comment to make on McCarthyism, he replied, "I am not answering that." ⁵³ But when the United States Senate voted to censure McCarthy in December, 1955, Graham compared the action to Nero's fiddling while Rome burned. It looked, he said, as though the Senate was fiddling "over trifles" and "bringing disgrace to the dignity of American statesmanship" while American airmen languished in dirty Chinese prisons. ⁵⁴

The brunt of Graham's political interpolations, however, have been concerned with the Democratic appeasement of international communism under both Roosevelt and Truman. "The Korean War is being fought," Graham told his opening night congregation in Houston, in May, 1952, "because the nation's leaders blundered on foreign policy in the Far East. I do not think the men in Washington have any grasp of

the Oriental mind; Alger Hiss shaped our foreign policy and some of the men who formulate it [now] have never been to the East.”⁵⁵ Graham maintains that communism came to China largely because of America’s “diplomatic betrayal” of Chiang Kai-shek at Yalta.⁵⁶ “We went to great lengths in appeasing them [the Communists] at Yalta,” he insists, and Secretary of State Dean Acheson compounded the betrayal by refusing to let Chiang take part in the Japanese Peace Conference. “One of the amazing and humiliating things about the whole treaty was the ignoring and snubbing of Nationalist China.”⁵⁷ “During the last three years,” Graham said in 1953, “we have lost tremendous prestige in the entire Far East. We have shown our moral weaknesses. We have shown that when pressed we could betray our friends and compromise with the enemy. Our morally weak allies are now calling for the admission of Red China into the United Nations and crying for the scalp of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa.”⁵⁸

Time and again Graham has gone out of his way to praise Chiang and Madam Chiang in his sermons. He calls attention not only to their devout, born-again Christianity, but to their staunch anticommunism and their “crack troops” which could be used to attack Mao Tse-tung. When, in 1953, it looked as though Mao might lead an attack on Formosa through Quemoy and Matsu Islands, Graham included in his radio program a personal interview with Chiang and a “special report” from the missionary-evangelist, Robert Pierce (President of World Vision, Inc., a fundamentalist missionary and social welfare enterprise), which emphasized the plight of Christian believers on these islands who were faced with atheistic communistic aggression.⁵⁹ In 1956 Graham was spreading rumors that “the Generalissimo may make the decision to invade the mainland this year.” Graham was told, he said, that if Chiang “could stay one month on the mainland that whole armies would desert to his cause and that there would be a general uprising.”⁶⁰

And once again in the fall of 1958, when Quemoy and Matsu were for the second time under bombardment from

the mainland, Graham interrupted a revival sermon in Charlotte, North Carolina, to ask for prayers for the Christians living on these islands; "Some of the finest Christians that I have ever met are on Formosa and on those offshore islands." "Suppose thousands of rounds of ammunition were being fired on Charlotte every day." He urged everyone in his audience to read the editorial in *Life* supporting the United States' policy of defending Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang is disliked by some people, said Graham, for "two basic reasons, apparently. One, he has courage enough to stand up against communism and the second is, he has been a staunch friend of the United States. Some people seem to take exception to those two things, and it is a very strange thing to me that is happening."⁶¹

Second only to his admiration for Chiang Kai-shek is Graham's admiration for Syngman Rhee, whom he refers to as "that stalwart old Methodist Christian." But there was some contradiction in Graham's mind over the Korean War. On the whole he disapproved of the war and of the way America entered it. In a sermon illustration which he has used repeatedly, Graham asks his audiences, "How many of you voted to go into the Korean War? I never did." He goes on to explain that the United States entered the war because "one man sitting in Washington" made the decision.⁶² On the eve of the 1952 election the *Pittsburgh Press* noted that Graham "drew a rather startling parallel between President Truman and Adam" by comparing the start of the Korean War with Adam's original sin in the Garden of Eden. The illustration went as follows: "Adam was the head of the human race, even as in this country our President is the head of our government. . . . When the President makes a decision, that decision stands as the decision of the entire people. When Mr. Truman went to war in Korea, you and I went to war in Korea whether we liked it or not."⁶³ The implication is clear that all men must suffer for the sins of their federal head in this day and age as in the past.

However, once the United States was in the war, Graham

was appalled that the administration did not follow General Douglas MacArthur's advice and push the war through to a victorious conclusion even if it meant bombing airfields and military bases inside Communist China. He called the Truman administration "cowardly" for not listening to MacArthur and made repeated references to "this twilight war," "this half-forgotten war," "this half-hearted war," "this terrible bloody tragedy." "It is almost beyond belief that the American people will allow such a half-hearted war to drag on with an average now of nearly two thousand casualties every week."⁶⁴

And when MacArthur was relieved of his command in Korea, Graham showed great restraint by saying, "Ladies and gentlemen, I am not a politician; I refrain from making statements on political matters; I am not choosing sides in the dismissal of General MacArthur. However, there are certain factors relative to Christian Missions in the Orient that need to be brought to the attention of the American people at this moment." He then went on to say how much MacArthur had done for missionaries in Japan and concluded by reporting what his colleague in the Youth for Christ movement, David Morken, cabled from Formosa about the MacArthur dismissal. Morken stated that all Christians in the Orient "were deeply grieved and all felt that Christianity had suffered another major blow."⁶⁵ When MacArthur returned to the United States, Graham could not refrain from comparing him to George Washington. He called the general "almost regal" in his bearing, and asserted a year or so later that MacArthur had accurately predicted the failure of the whole notion of a limited war.⁶⁶ Two days before the 1952 election, Graham stated to his twenty million listeners on the "Hour of Decision," "We need a new foreign policy to end this bloodletting in Korea."⁶⁷ And in 1953 when a Congressional committee uncovered some apparent mismanagement in the conduct of the war, during its early phases, Graham deplored the fact that "someone in Washington decided" that American boys had been "expendable," and he denounced the "diplo-

mats who drank cocktails in Washington” while our soldiers were dying in Korea.⁶⁸

Graham was so concerned over the dangers of communism that he even heckled the Republican administration when it sought to come to terms with North Korean leaders. “Watch these peace conferences,” Graham told his audience in August, 1953, “study the communiques carefully and demand that there be no secret agreements that will sell us down the river.”⁶⁹ In the same sermon he said, “Let us pray that we will not lose this peace as we lost the peace after World War II. Let us pray that we will not listen to the Alger Hisses and the other traitors that have betrayed us. . . . Every boy that died in Korea died because of the tragic failures at the post-war peace conferences.” When Syngman Rhee protested against the peace treaty and threatened to continue the war even if he had to do so alone, Graham injected this comment into one of his sermons in Dallas: “The Communists have maneuvered us almost into war with Korea and with Chiang Kai-shek. Isn’t it strange to you that we had three great and strong men in the Far East—men whose moral stature and integrity were unquestioned—and we pulled MacArthur back to this country; we pulled the rug out from under Chiang Kai-shek, and now we are almost at war with Syngman Rhee. We need to pray for General Eisenhower. . . .”⁷⁰

Graham helped to provide one other scapegoat in these years of hysteria. In addition to the Alger Hisses, bungling leaders, cocktail-drinking diplomats, and Satan-inspired Communists or left-wingers, he pointed his finger at the United Nations. “We have been caught in the web of the United Nations,” he said, quoting an editorial in *Life* in reference to the Korean War: “They set the policies, we shed the blood and pay the bills.”⁷¹ And during the Hungarian crisis in December, 1956, he again asserted “the United Nations does not dare to stand up to Russia” and assailed it for ineffectiveness. Graham’s explanation of why “the United Nations has become almost the laughing stock of the entire world” was simple enough. “At the first meet-

ing of the United Nations in San Francisco there was no prayer made to God for guidance and blessing. We were afraid that the Godless, atheistic Communists would not like it, so we bowed in deference to Russia.”⁷²

The United Nations was not a significant political issue in the presidential campaigns of 1952 or 1956 except among the most extreme conservatives and isolationists. Where Graham disclosed his partisanship most clearly was in the tone he adopted toward the three leading figures in the Republican administration, Eisenhower, Dulles, and Nixon. He paid them a deference which he seldom accorded Truman, Stevenson, or Acheson. The *Houston Post*, reporting a Graham sermon in that city in May, 1952, said, “Emphasizing that he does not become involved in politics the Rev. Mr. Graham said that the country needs a President who has the fortitude and moral courage to clean out the ‘grafters and hangers-on’ who come out in every business.” A month later, on June 29, he said “The nation desperately needs a strong spiritual leader” who will guarantee a “clean-up” in Washington. On the Sunday after the inaugural in 1953, Graham declared, “President Eisenhower made history yesterday when he led Americans in prayer at the inauguration. . . . The overwhelming majority of the American people felt a little more secure realizing that we have a man who believes in prayer at the helm of our government at this crucial hour.”⁷³ After attending a prayer meeting in Washington with the President in February, 1953, Graham said he sensed a new feeling of unity and hope in the country and that it looked as though “God is giving us a respite, a new chance.” There will be a new foreign policy now, he announced; “We are no longer going to be pushed around” by the Communists.⁷⁴ A few weeks later he compared the new President’s first speech on foreign policy to the Sermon on the Mount.⁷⁵

Typical of the contrast between Graham’s attitudes toward the Truman and Eisenhower administrations was his treatment of their Middle East policies. When the Iranian government seized the Anglo-Iranian oil fields in 1952, Graham

chose to publicize the fact that "One of President Truman's representatives was confused and bewildered by it all and seemingly had found no real solution."⁷⁶ When the Eisenhower administration was confronted with the crisis over Suez five years later, Graham praised the "bold move" embodied in "the Eisenhower doctrine."⁷⁷

Prominent in Graham's crusade publicity after 1952 was a photograph taken of him and President Eisenhower sitting together on a sofa examining an open Bible. Graham took occasion to remind his listeners of his frequent visits to the White House and to the President's Gettysburg farm and informed them of what he and the President had talked about.

Equally frequent and well-publicized have been his meetings with Vice-President Nixon and former Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. When many critics of the Vice-President were calling him hypocritical and insincere for certain inconsistencies in his opinions, Graham made a point of telling his followers, "I disagree with those who say that Mr. Nixon is not sincere. I believe him to be most sincere and like the President, he is a splendid churchman."⁷⁸ As a personal friend and golfing partner of the Vice-President, Graham has escorted him to various denominational conventions and summer Bible conferences, introducing him to religious leaders and presenting him from the platform as a speaker to the assembled church delegates. During Graham's crusade in New York City in 1957 Mr. Nixon was the featured guest at Graham's climactic rally in Yankee Stadium.

Despite Graham's occasional qualms about the "new foreign policy" of the administration (particularly in regard to what he calls "unholy alliances with godless nations"—presumably Yugoslavia and the Mohammedan and Buddhist countries of the Middle and Far East) Graham never openly attacked it and frequently went out of his way to defend Secretary Dulles. In 1956, for example, when the Secretary of State was being criticized for stating that the Republican administration had three times rescued the United States

from the brink of war, Graham wrote an article for *Christian Life* magazine in which he declared of Dulles, "I believe that in spite of a few mistakes he has made that he has been one of the hardest working and most effective Secretaries of State in American history."⁷⁹ And when Dulles was accused of defending colonialism because of his remarks on the rightful ownership of Goa by the Portuguese, Graham had an interview with him and afterwards told reporters that he thought Mr. Dulles had been "misinterpreted." "I don't think Mr. Dulles meant in the slightest to endorse colonialism. I got the impression [from our talk] that the United States' policy is not to support colonialism in any way."⁸⁰

In return, the Secretary of State, like the President and the Vice-President, endorsed Graham's revivals and even put a seal of semiofficial approval on Graham's international tours. "He seemed to feel," Graham wrote of Mr. Dulles's attitude toward the Graham crusade in India in 1956, "that particularly after the visit of Messrs. Khrushchev and Bulganin of Russia to India that America was in need of someone that could appeal to the masses of India."⁸¹ It is doubtful, however, whether Graham did much to win the masses of India by his remark, after his visit, that the United States could better secure the friendly cooperation of Prime Minister Nehru by giving him personal gifts, like a "streamlined, air-conditioned train or a new Cadillac, pure white" than by giving large grants of aid to India. Gifts of this sort, said Graham, "would do more to demonstrate the friendliness of the Americans than all the millions of dollars given in economic aid."⁸²

In making any over-all evaluation of Billy Graham's political views it is necessary to keep two things in mind: first, that he is only indirectly concerned with politics and second, that his comments on political matters have, on the whole, become less rather than more pointed as his own popularity has increased. He urges all Christians to vote, but he tells them to vote for Christian men and Christian principles and not for any particular party program or party candidate.

If his comments on political or economic matters are interpreted by his listeners to favor the Republican rather than the Democratic party, Graham would sincerely deny that such was his intention. As a professional evangelist interested in church unity for the sake of saving souls, he recognizes that avowed political partisanship would be disastrous. Yet he cannot, he feels, ignore the critical domestic and foreign issues of his day. They cry out for Christian comment. The fact that his comments are more partisan than he perhaps realizes is due to personal predilections on these matters which he cannot or will not admit.

Moreover, it is probable that his sympathetic attitude toward the Republican administration is largely due to his belief that Dwight D. Eisenhower himself is a man above party, a man who was not and is not motivated by the personal ambitions of the ordinary politician. Since Graham, like most neofundamentalists, believes that all "humanistic" schemes for settling the world's problems are inadequate and futile, politics becomes for him primarily a matter of finding the God-appointed leader who will bring the people out of their trouble by following the dictates of God. "The people are hungry for a moral crusade," Graham said in the spring of 1952, "and they need a Moses or a Daniel to lead them in this hour."⁸³ For many Americans, and particularly for those who share Graham's religious views, General Eisenhower became the leader they sought.

There is in Graham's preaching, as in that of all pietistic revivalists, an authoritarianism which stems from the belief that the best possible political system is after all a theocracy. As one of the leading figures in the National Association of Evangelicals, Donald Grey Barnhouse, said in 1945, "The best type of government that men could have is not democracy. It is undoubtedly true that the best type of government that could be on earth is an absolute dictatorship but with the proviso that the Lord Jesus Christ be the Dictator."⁸⁴ The strong strain of perfectionism which runs through Graham's preaching and which makes him unsatisfied with all man-made systems makes him long for a charis-

matic leader, a man of God, who will rule as a benevolent dictator because he will rule according to God's laws. As in the election of Saul, however, Graham believes the people should have some part in the choice of their ruler. He is not antidemocratic in that respect. There is always a danger, of course, that a prominent revivalist may someday mistake a demagogue or a tyrant for a God-appointed leader. But Graham has so far seemed content with the normal American electoral process. Nevertheless, during the 1952 election Graham did think it his duty to urge born-again Christians to form a godly "voting bloc" which could use its power against presumably less godly voting blocs. "In the coming election," he said in April, 1952, "there's going to be the Jewish bloc, there's going to be the Roman Catholic bloc, there's going to be the labor bloc, there's going to be the Negro bloc, there's going to be the Polish bloc, there's going to be the Irish bloc. They will put on tremendous pressure. They will vote as blocs. Some of them will almost hold the balance of power. Why should not Evangelicals across America be conditioned and cultured and instructed until we, too, can make our voice known?"⁸⁵

Whether the decreasing number of political comments in Graham's sermons since 1952 has been due to a growing maturity, as some of his friends claim, or whether it is because he finds the policies of the Republican administration more satisfactory is a moot point. The test may come in 1960. It is indicative, perhaps, that when the predominantly Democratic Eighty-sixth Congress opened in January, 1959, Graham warned his radio listeners to beware of high-spending "liberals" and "eggheads" who might vote to give "another billion to Tito" and thus take another twenty-five dollars out of the pockets of every American family.⁸⁶ But even if the Democrats win the election of 1960, it is unlikely that Graham will do more than make equivocal remarks on divisive issues. For example, when questioned about his views on birth control after the statement concerning the issue by the Roman Catholic bishops in November, 1959, Graham said that while he could find nothing in

the Scriptures condemning the responsible use of birth control, nevertheless he would agree with President Eisenhower and Senator John F. Kennedy that the United States government should not make information on this subject available as part of its technical aid to nations facing a population problem even if they asked for it.⁸⁷ Billy Graham is wise enough to see that if he is to continue to lead city-wide crusades in all sections of the country and in all parts of the world his politics will have to be more, not less, other-worldly. Or at least he will have to choose for comment in his sermons only such issues as all men of good will can agree upon. The trouble is that there are few such issues which can long sustain the tremendous cooperative efforts needed for mass revival crusades. And this is where the ultimate test of a revivalist's greatness enters.

Pulpit Techniques

Just one wrong move by some of our diplomats could plunge us all into eternity by intercontinental missiles and hydrogen bombs. . . . Come and give your life to Christ while there is time.

BILLY GRAHAM ¹

Neither Graham's neofundamentalist theology nor his conservative politics adequately accounts for his popularity. It is the combination of his theological and social message with the manner in which he conveys it that makes him a great evangelist. Pulpit technique in revivalism derives first and most directly from the personality and delivery of the evangelist. But equally important are the nature of the appeals and motivations for action which he stresses.

Billy Graham has those rare qualities of personality and rhetorical talent which make him an attractive and compelling figure on the platform—a man with whom the audience immediately feels not only a bond of sympathy and affection, but also a man whom they admire and respect. His message is timely, but it is the way he delivers his message that establishes the rapport which is the *sine qua non* of revival preaching.

Graham is personally a very likeable young man. He was barely thirty-one when he became nationally famous

(Billy Sunday, by comparison, was almost fifty-two). He is handsome, friendly, ingenuous, and open. Success has not marred his charm and it has added greatly to his poise. There is no doubt about his devotion to his calling or the burning conviction behind his preaching. But his relaxed cordiality off the platform disappears as soon as he steps into his spotlighted pulpit. He becomes as taut and alert as a highly trained boxer stepping into the ring against an unknown challenger. Although he has fought hundreds of similar battles and knows all the tricks, each encounter is different and his own inner tension quickly communicates itself to the throng.

At first Graham tried to model his oratory on the highly individualized style of Walter Winchell, but he soon developed a delivery more suited to his own personality. Its dominant characteristic is the rapid, staccato manner in which he ejaculates his short, simple sentences. He speaks with the strident urgency of a messenger of catastrophe. Though he keeps an outline of his sermon on the lectern before him, he seldom needs to refer to it. His Carolina sand-hill accent, though noticeable in pronunciation, does not impede the swift torrent of his words. He does not drawl; he barks commands. Even his doctrinal sermons on love and grace are delivered in a high-pitched, stomach-tightening tone which seems more like a tongue-lashing than a sermon. As Graham once described his own feelings while he preached, "I felt as though I had a rapier in my hand and, through the power of the Bible, was slashing deeply into men's consciences, leading them to surrender to God."² It is a slashing which leaves few listeners unscathed.

The strident quality of his voice is matched by the restless, forceful gestures of his hands. He "repeatedly banged his fists on the pulpit, clenched them in symbolic anguish against his temples, and swept the huge stadium with a punctuating forefinger," said a reporter in Houston.³ Throughout much of his sermon he holds a limp-covered open Bible in one hand, slapping it as he quotes one text

after another, lifting it on high as he shouts, "Billy Graham doesn't say it; the Bible says it," brandishing it like a sword as he warns of judgment to come. In Dallas "he paced the boards and beat on his chest" as he exhorted. When he got too hot, he took off his coat without breaking his flow of words and preached the remainder of the sermon in his shirtsleeves.⁴ He strides back and forth across his platform so constantly as he talks that, like Billy Sunday, he walks a mile during the course of each sermon. While he talks, Cliff Barrows sits behind him on the platform carefully, but unostentatiously, playing out and pulling in the cord which runs from Graham's lapel microphone to the amplifying mechanism.

The drama of Graham's delivery is heightened by the way he acts out his words. As he retells the old Biblical stories of heroes, villains, and saints, he imitates their voices, assumes their postures, struts, gesticulates, crouches, and sways to play each part. He even portrays the motions of the animals in his stories. "If he describes a bucking bronco, as he did the night I was there," said one observer in Washington, D. C., "Graham bobs up and down like a man trying desperately to stay in the saddle. . . . He darts from side to side, from back to front [of the platform]."⁵ He is a master of comedy as well as of drama. "He demonstrated his impression of a pig prancing in the limelight" one night to illustrate the point that even if you gave a pig a bath, "gave it a Toni, and sprinkled it with Chanel number five" it would still, like an unregenerate sinner, revert to the mud puddle as soon as you let it loose.⁶ "Billy Graham had the audience in stitches of laughter last night," according to one report, when he described the foibles of modern marriage and mimicked the tones of the complaining wife and the bored husband.⁷

He frequently interspersed jokes in his sermons to relieve the tension built up by his hammering on fear, guilt, and judgment. "When asked by her minister if she knew what was in the Bible, one little girl proudly replied that she knew everything that was in it, and proceeded to list 'the

picture of her sister's boy friend, the recipe for mother's favorite hand lotion, a lock of baby brother's hair, and the ticket for Pa's watch.'"⁸ In one of his sermons on the teenage problem, he says, "The old-fashioned motto of old was: 'What is a home without a mother?' Now a more appropriate one would be: 'What is home without a can-opener?'"⁹ He remarks in his sermon on adultery and divorce that "Our young people today know far more about the statistics of Brigitte Bardot than they do about the Seventh Commandment."¹⁰ The women in his audience laugh heartily when he tells the story of a lady who said to her minister, "'This morning I stood in front of the mirror for half an hour admiring my beauty. Do you think I committed the sin of pride?' The minister replied, 'No, I don't think you committed the sin of pride—it was more the sin of a faulty imagination.'"¹¹ He is even willing to inject humor into his invitations to sinners to come forward and accept Christ: "Father, Mother, with grey hairs and bifocals and bunions and bulges, have you given yourself to Christ?"¹²

Like Billy Sunday, Graham frequently uses slang expressions to make his sermons more racy and down-to-earth. Such phrases as "Now you're cookin' with gas," "I was gettin' no place fast," "You ain't seen nothin' yet," or "Boy, you couldn't see him for dust" punctuate his stories. Like Sunday he frequently tells Biblical stories in modern vernacular: "In Noah's day people laughed. They said, 'Ha, judgment coming on the world? The old man's gone crazy! Why the long-bearded fool, there's a screw loose somewhere. . . .'"¹³ When speaking to predominantly male audiences, as in military camps, Graham's slang is even more pronounced: "Some big guys think they're having themselves a good time, just lying and cheating and stealing and lusting. But believe me, the gang that are having the best time are the gang who know Jesus Christ. It ain't just a thing for sissies. It's for real he-blooded guys. Oh, yes, that's for you, too."¹⁴ Even when speaking to regular revival congregations he tries to convince young people that

Christianity is a manly religion: "Don't you think of our Lord as a weakling or a sissy. He was a strong man. He would have been a real success on the football field."¹⁵ One of his most popular sermons is called "The Greatest Battle Ever Fought" in which, said a reporter, the "evangelist uses ring jargon" to describe "Christ's battle with Satan" in the wilderness. "Coupling reverence with a sports announcer's verve" he told the story with such interpolations as "The Devil lets loose another powerful punch. . . . Jesus picked up the word of God and flung it back at the Devil. . . . Round 3: the Devil's coming out with everything he's got. He hits Jesus with a right uppercut. Then a left uppercut."¹⁶ When Billy Sunday used such language in 1915 many considered it sacrilegious, but no one seemed to mind it in the 1950's.

At some meetings the reverence of a religious service is suspended momentarily as Graham introduces various cowboy and cowgirl movie stars like Roy Rogers and Dale Evans. The crowds "whooped and yelled at the Western stars" forgetting that these celebrities were born-again Christians who had appeared at Graham's request to give a word of Christian testimony.¹⁷ At such services Graham usually delivers his sermon called "The Last Round-Up" in which he concludes by asking the people before him whether on Judgment Day they would be wearing "the brand of Jesus."

Graham often captures the attention of his audience by references to contemporary events which he weaves into his sermons as illustrative material. The sudden deaths of King George VI, Senator Robert A. Taft, Senator Pat McCarran, Senator Charles W. Tobey, illustrated the danger of delay in neglecting salvation, for even the greatest men may be called to meet their Maker at a moment's notice. Interest is also aroused by referring to the marriages and divorces of celebrities like Marilyn Monroe, Joe DiMaggio, Ingrid Bergman, Barbara Hutton, Susan Hayward, in illustrating some point on the problem of the home. When he is talking to young people he is apt to compare the football hero, Pete Dawkins of West Point ("He is the next General MacArthur,

so they say”) with the rock and roll singer, Elvis Presley (“Elvis said himself he got so bored that he just stared at the walls”).¹⁸ In Toronto in 1955 he injected this comment into one of his sermons: “I thought about Ernest Hemingway, who has had four wives; Ernest Hemingway, one of the world’s great writers, who has been known for his doubting about God. He got out of one plane that crashed, and he got into another plane that crashed and burned. Could it be that God saved Ernest Hemingway so he might know the mercy of Jesus Christ?”¹⁹

Quotations from prominent citizens like J. Edgar Hoover, Winston Churchill, Arnold Toynbee, Nathan M. Pusey, C. S. Lewis, and William Vogt reinforce Graham’s views concerning the desperate moral condition of the world. And Graham is always ready to relate what Churchill, Eisenhower, or some prominent general or senator said to him “only the other day” concerning the dangers, corruptions, and military problems of the moment. “When I met Winston Churchill he said to me, ‘Young man, do you see any hope for the world?’” “President Eisenhower told me, ‘Billy, I believe one reason I was elected President was to lead America in a religious revival.’” “A Congressman told me recently that immorality was the curse of Washington.” “Last week I was talking to one of the richest men in the world. He put his hand on my shoulder and said, ‘Billy, I’m going to lean heavily on you.’ I answered, ‘Don’t lean on me, sir. I am only a man. Lean on Christ.’”²⁰

Graham ensures an attentive audience by giving his sermons provocative and intriguing titles and then advertising them a week in advance. Some of the more tantalizing titles include, “Life’s Most Embarrassing Moment,” “The Greatest Sin a Man Can Commit,” “The Greatest Sin in Dallas” (or in whatever city he happens to be in at the time), “The Unpardonable Sin,” “America’s Greatest Sin,” “Living High, Wide and Handsome,” and “The Greatest Cocktail Party in History.”

By and large Graham’s sermons are masterpieces of popular rhetoric. In addition to drama, mimicry, slang, and

tension-relieving humor, Graham is a master of invective, pathos, and the purple passage. Stories of faithful mothers, ungrateful children, sickness, parental pride, homecoming, and death fill his sermons on "Heaven," "Mother's Day," "Father's Day," "The Home," and "Hope in Death." Here is an example of the homely touch: "The little group of loved ones gather on the porch in the summer and by the fireside in winter, but how quickly the children grow up and leave the parent nest; how often the silent messenger comes to rob the homes of their brightest and best. Dear as our homes may be, they are not permanent. Sometimes I look at my own children and can hardly believe they are growing up so fast. Soon they will be gone and Mrs. Graham and I will be alone in an empty house that once rang with the laughter of children." ²¹

And this is a typical purple passage: "The secret of America is not found in her whirling wheels or streamlined industry, nor in the towering skyscrapers of our teeming cities where clever men of commerce meet. It is not found in the rich, lush prairies laden with golden grain, nor in her broad green meadows where fat cattle graze. The secret of America is not found in her modern scientific laboratories where keen, trained minds seek out the mysteries of the atom, nor in the stately halls of her many universities and colleges where ambitious young men and women pursue their quest for knowledge and skills. The secret of America is found in the faith that abides in the hearts and homes of our fair land." ²²

A deathbed scene: "Some time ago I read the story of a young girl who lay on her bed in the hospital with a fatal illness. She was the only child, and the idol of her parents. Her every whim had been gratified. One day the doctor came to the room and after the examination whispered in the mother's ear. The sick girl heard the message. Calling her mother to the bedside she said, 'Mother, you have taught me how to dance, how to sip cocktails, how to hold my cigarette, and how to dress. But one thing you have failed to teach me, and that is, how to die.' " ²³

This is coupled with the story of the poor old widow who raised chickens, "took in washing, and did other humble work" to save enough money to send her boy to Emory College. "The son worked hard to get himself through college. He graduated with high honors and won a gold medal for special excellence in study. When it came time for him to graduate he went to the mountain home for his mother and said, 'Mother, you must come down and see me graduate.' 'No,' said his mother, 'I have nothing fit to wear and you would be ashamed of your poor old mother before all those grand people.' 'Ashamed of you!' he said, with eyes filled with filial love. 'Ashamed of you, mother, never! I owe everything I am to you. . . .'"²⁴

And for vitriolic denunciation that equals anything Billy Sunday ever expressed about Kaiser Wilhelm and the Huns, here is Graham's view of Karl Marx and socialism: "Karl Marx—a subtle, clever, degenerate materialist—authored this philosophy of world socialism. Having filled his intellectual craw with all the filth of Europe's gutters and garbling perverted German philosophies and half-truths, he spewed this filthy, corrupt, ungodly, unholy doctrine of world socialism over the gullible peoples of a degenerate Europe."²⁵

Graham is also master of the shock technique in oratory. According to one report, he told an audience in New Orleans that the only cure for swearing was to "Wash your mouth out with the blood of Christ and nail your tongue to the Cross."²⁶ He warned young people that God knew all about "that sin you committed last night in a parked automobile."²⁷ With his usual vividness he portrayed in detail the various crimes of juvenile delinquents, "horse-whipping young girls," "pouring gasoline over an old man and setting him on fire just to see him burn," torturing "younger children for hours in a secluded place and then [forcing] them to participate in perversions."²⁸ He told of wartime atrocities in which "Soldiers are reported to have severed ears from prisoners, tied live grenades to screaming prisoners, poured gasoline over the

bodies of wounded men and ignited the human torches.”²⁹ During the Hungarian revolt he claimed that rape was so common in Hungary under Russian rule that no woman from ten to seventy escaped it.³⁰

The purpose of these lurid remarks is to point out “the exceeding sinfulness of sin” and to make people turn from it in revulsion. But even an amateur psychologist can see that this rhetorical device is also instrumental in creating the emotional tension which seeks the catharsis of confession, repentance, and forgiveness. The suppressed passions and hidden urges in all human beings respond to such images and among the pious folk who make up the bulk of Graham’s audience the reaction takes the form not only of revulsion but of intensification of guilt and anxiety. Each individual recognizes his own worst impulses in the sins Graham so graphically portrays and each longs for some release. Sometimes the conversion experience satisfactorily provides this. Sometimes it does not. In either case this type of revival preaching can cause serious mental upset to unstable individuals. As a result of Graham’s campaign in Greensboro, North Carolina, “Sixty-nine doctors in Greensboro reported 58 cases of serious emotional disturbance which they attributed to the Crusade.”³¹

At this point Graham’s delivery merges with the second aspect of putting across his message—his motivational appeals. Graham does not deny that the process of conversion may, and probably will, involve emotionalism. “I find it hard to think that the preaching of John the Baptist, Christ, and the Apostles set no emotion aflame,” he says, and he insists, “Fear is a legitimate motive” in evangelism. But like all professional revivalists, he deplors any type of hysteria or any demonstrative exhibitions of feelings at his meetings. “We never have any shouting or outbursts of any kind.”³² Like Billy Sunday and D. L. Moody, Graham permits no one to shout “Amen” or “Hallelujah,” no clapping of hands, “no foaming at the mouth” or rolling in the aisles. He seeks rapt attention at all times, and the ushers and counselors at his meetings are instructed to quiet down or

remove anyone who in any way distracts attention from the sermon. Mass revivalism seeks a mass response. The audience is to react as a well-disciplined unit, not as a mob of excited individuals. Strangely enough, individualism is, in this respect, out of place in modern revivalism. Graham could arouse emotional hysteria easily enough, but if he did he would soon lose the majority of his church support.

Graham replies to critics of his emotionalism and his "fear technique" by pointing out that he uses many other appeals beside fear. In fact, there is a wide variety of appeals which he utilizes, as did his predecessors. His use of fear and shock is generally coupled with the use of love and reward. Professional revivalists have always denied that they sought irrational, spontaneous, emotional responses. Religion, they insist, is a reasonable proposition. Revival sermons are reasonable appeals to man's better nature based on the assumption that conversion is a reasonable requirement imposed on reasonable men by an essentially benevolent and loving God. It is true that Graham emphasizes God's justice, wrath, and righteousness to a greater extent than either Moody or Sunday, but he by no means excludes mention of God's love, grace, and mercy.

Graham even maintains that "God wants us to have a good time. We're to enjoy life in the right way." He acknowledges that most of his auditors are decent, respectable people. "I believe every person in this building is counting on being in Heaven." "Everybody here I presume believes in God. You believe in the Bible. You believe in the Church. You believe in God." And he even states that for the agnostic getting saved may be viewed simply as a matter of insurance—just in case there is an after-life: "I want to ask you, Mr. Agnostic, suppose, just suppose you wake up and find there was a hell after all. Suppose there were only one chance in a hundred that there is a hell. . . . Then it would be worth giving everything you have got to escape the place that Jesus called hell." ³³

In examining Graham's various appeals or motivations to action, the first fact to strike the observer is that each of

Graham's sermons follows a readily discernible pattern. Each begins with an attempt to create a feeling of uneasiness, guilt, or anxiety. Tension is built up by showing that this anxiety is justifiable, that all men are guilty of sin and deserve the worst kind of punishment. Then the next step is to proclaim that fortunately there is a way out of this human predicament. Here Graham explains God's plan of redemption for sinful men. The final steps in the sermon show how reasonably, simply, and quickly salvation can be obtained. And the sermon closes with the inevitable note of urgency to the effect that if the sinner does not make up his or her mind to obtain salvation at once, tonight, this very moment, by walking up the aisle in the inquiry room, then it may be too late forever: sudden death, the trump of doom, the cooling of ardor, the departure of the Holy Spirit, the hardening of the heart—all these make it probable that this moment is their one moment of decision. As the evangelist gives the invitation to come and accept Christ, he points out that those who do not come forward are virtually rejecting Him forever.

This pattern has been the basic one for revival preaching for 150 years or more. The fear of hell and the joy of heaven have been the basic motives and provided the fundamental appeal of all revivalists. But what differentiates one revivalist from another and one period of awakening from another is not this otherworldly appeal, but the this-worldly statement of its meaning. What does hell mean and what does heaven mean in the language of each generation? And more important, what may the man who obtains salvation expect in this world during the rest of his life? What are the earthly rewards for God's chosen and what earthly punishments lie in store for those who reject him?

In his early days as an evangelist Graham portrayed heaven and hell in the literal terms of the Bible. Hell, he assured his audiences, consisted primarily of a lake of burning brimstone in which all sinners were perpetually boiled.³⁴ Heaven was "a place as real as Los Angeles, London, or Algiers. . . . It has streets of gold, gates of pearl, and trees

which bear twelve different crops a year." Heaven was also described as "a place where there will be no sorrow, no parting, no pain, no sickness, no death, no quarrels, no misunderstandings, no sin, and no cares."³⁵ He described the marriage feast of the Lamb after the day of Judgment: "I'm going to be there. Boy, what a banquet that is going to be. The angels are going to serve us manna from heaven. Talk about a banquet at Buckingham Palace or a banquet at some ritzy place in Miami. Why those are like pauper meals."³⁶

But in later sermons Graham said it did not matter whether heaven literally has streets of gold or not, for it represents reconciliation and fellowship with God and Christ. And similarly, it does not matter whether hell-fire is literal or not. It is a symbol of punishment: "Hell essentially and basically is banishment from the presence of God. . . . Whether there is fire in Hell or not is not the all-important question. . . . Whatever Hell is, it is going to be a terrible and awful place."³⁷ This willingness to adopt the figurative or symbolic meaning of the after-life has considerably enlarged the appeal of Graham's message to nonfundamentalists. Some of his fundamentalist followers, however, accuse him of having departed from the old-time religion for this equivocation. Yet Graham has not actually repudiated hell-fire, he simply has ceased to insist upon it.³⁸

As for his portrayal of the earthly lot of the born-again Christian, Graham is often contradictory and confusing. On the one hand he pietistically asserts that the way of the Christian is difficult and filled with hardship. The Christian can expect only scorn, abuse, ridicule, and persecution in this world, for this world belongs to Satan and is ruled by the ungodly. "God does not promise the Christians an easy pathway to Heaven, nor does God promise flowery beds of ease. . . . We have been called to suffer and follow the footsteps of the Man of Sorrows. This world is not a place of bliss for the Christian."³⁹ On the other hand, born-again Christians have the peace which passeth understanding. As sons and heirs of God they have conquered the things of this world. They are free in a way which no non-Christian can

ever be. They are happy, secure, contented beyond all men: "Christ can take discouragement and despondency out of your life. He can put a spring in your step and give you a thrill in your heart and a purpose in your mind. Optimism and cheerfulness are products of knowing Christ."⁴⁰

While these two prospects are not necessarily contradictory if the separation of the material from the spiritual world is kept in mind, Graham does not always do this. He cannot resist offering his audiences very concrete rewards in this life if they will accept God's offer of pardon. In doing so, however, he occasionally passes over the line from pietism to Pelagianism and joins hands with the neomodernist, Norman Vincent Peale. Theologically Peale's religion, based as it is upon a mixture of popular psychiatry, autosuggestion, and mystic faith, is a far cry from the neofundamentalism which Graham professes. And yet Graham has frequently expressed his admiration for Peale and Peale has actively participated in Graham's revival campaigns. Some of Graham's sermons sound as if they were inspired by *The Power of Positive Thinking* rather than by the Bible. They have such titles as "The Life That Wins," "What God Can Do for You," "The Cure for Discouragement," "Are You Getting What You Want?" "The Cause and Cure of Uncertainty," "Partners with God," "The Cure for Anxiety," and "Victorious Christian Living." What is more, the message of these sermons, like Peale's, is that man can call upon the power of God, can harness the dynamic forces of the universe to his own personal life, and through Christian faith attain the solution for all his earthly woes. When preaching in this vein Graham offers the born-again Christian not only peace of mind and peace of soul but wealth, success, popularity, and influence. Since Graham cannot help equating Christianity with the Protestant ethic and the Protestant ethic with the success myth, he often repudiates the basically otherworldly character of pietism.

For example in his sermon "Partners with God" which Graham frequently gives when business groups are present in his audience he remarks: "I know a businessman in De-

troit, Michigan, who made a promise to God that he would tithe his entire income to the work of the Lord. He said his business had tripled and that God had more than fulfilled His end of the bargain. I know a man in the South that started tithing. His salary is now nearly double what it was before he began tithing. Some time ago I heard from a laborer in the San Joaquin Valley of California who said that he and his wife agreed to give one-tenth of their income to the Lord. At the time they made their decision he was able to get work only about seven months out of the year. Now he says he has steady work and is earning nearly twice what he was before. You cannot get around it, the scripture promises material and spiritual benefits to the man who gives to God.”⁴¹ Sometimes Graham is less specific about the kind of material success that comes to the Christian: “As God’s grace never fails, the man that receives it will not fail. Therefore, the weakest and most ignorant and most inexperienced man in the world can be the greatest success if he receives the grace of God.”⁴² The auditor is left to interpret this any way he chooses.

In his Peale-like sermon “What God Can Do for You” Graham takes a psychological approach to conversion. The question “I would like to answer for you is this,” he says: “What can God do for your psychological problems?” And then he offers the following answers: “God can rid you of boredom. . . . God can rid you of anxiety. . . . God can rid you of self-perplexity. . . . God can rid you of loneliness. . . . Christ can rid you of a sense of futility.” In “The Cure for Discouragement” Graham tells those who are discouraged, “God did not create you to be a defeated, discouraged, frustrated, wandering soul. . . . He has bigger plans for you. He has a larger orb and a greater life for you.” Of course this could be interpreted in the spiritual sense, but when Graham goes on to explain loneliness and discouragement in worldly terms, his listeners can hardly be blamed for thinking that God is the poor man’s psychiatrist and that salvation is a more pious version of Dale Carnegie’s courses in how to win friends and influence people: “The world to you

is shut off and you are shut out. Social barriers have prevented you from doing what you wish to do. Personality barriers thwart and hinder you." Graham would probably maintain that the peace of mind and assurance that comes from accepting Christ might well provide a man with the personal self-confidence to forge his way to the top in business or enable a woman to become the most self-possessioned hostess in town. On much the same basis Billy Sunday once told the women in his audience that if they would "spend less money on dope, pazaza, and cold cream and get down on your knees and pray, God would make you prettier."

All these appeals, however, are personal. They claim to help the individual, but the professional evangelist who wishes to attract people by the millions and to make converts by the thousands must do more than appeal to the personal fears and anxieties of the insecure members of society. He must offer a positive and constructive appeal which will attract the stable, the capable, the successful leaders of the community. To reach them, a higher goal and a greater challenge is needed. They already have a spring in their walk and a thrill in their hearts. And they have only a casual interest in the intangible rewards of an after-life. Furthermore, a different sort of motivation is needed to inspire the church members who are already saved to become more active Christians. In short, to unite the church members, saved or smug, of a city like Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York, or San Francisco, an evangelist must offer more than the hope of converting the discouraged and unhappy.

Billy Sunday found the perfect solution for this in the Prohibition movement. Here was a challenge of great magnitude (as he presented it) which rose above any petty political, geographical, or denominational lines and which, in the era of progressive reform, attracted both liberals and conservatives. Sunday built his revivalism around the theme that the saloon was not only a spiritual problem but a social problem, a national problem—a problem which called for the leadership, the vigor, the skill, and the courage of the

principal men in every town, city, and state. And by amalgamating his revivalism with Prohibition, Sunday succeeded in uniting the ministers of every denomination, laymen of every political party, and theologians of every hue behind his old-fashioned revivals. It may well be that the dispute between the modernists and the fundamentalists would have been waged much earlier than the 1920's had Sunday not sublimated this vital but divisive theological issue in the interest of saving the nation from the demon rum.

But Prohibition is a dead issue in the 1950's. Graham is in favor of it, but apart from warning people about the increase in alcoholism and the dangers of drunken driving he cannot arouse much concern. Nor can he return to the cause of "saving the masses" which provided the basic stimulus for Moody's revivals in the early days of urbanism and mass immigration. Most of the masses in America are now not only church members but members of the middle class. There are no masses left to save in America, though Graham often uses this appeal when he talks of his reasons for visiting foreign countries. However, Graham has found an issue around which to center his campaigns which is just as effective as "saving the masses" or as Prohibition. And that is anticommunism. Like Prohibition, this issue is above politics, economics, regionalism, or religious doctrine. Moreover, it has the tremendous advantage of being an international issue in a period when foreign policy is of as great concern to Americans as social reform was in Sunday's day or as urbanism was in Moody's. The positive side of this appeal is, of course, patriotism, although Graham maintains that he is no chauvinist and that the fight against communism is simply a fight of Christianity versus the anti-Christ. (Patriotism was also a central theme in Billy Sunday's revivalism, for the liquor traffic was also a threat to all that was good in America. But it was purely an internal threat.)

The manner in which Graham utilizes the fear of communism and the ideals of patriotism to stir his audiences is as transparent as it is omnipresent. Scarcely one of his Sunday afternoon sermons over a nine-year period has failed

to touch on communism and in his regular revival sermons he constantly refers to it to illustrate his doctrinal points. For example, when he delivers his sermon on hell, Graham begins by quoting a *Life* magazine editorial to the effect that Joseph Stalin is doubtless there. If he talks on the Second Coming he compares the end of the world to the chaos that would follow an atomic war with Russia. If he talks of Satan he equates communism with Satan's religion. Almost every time he mentions the need or value of a revival he does so in connection with the spread of communism. And several times he has devoted a whole sermon to the death-duel between Christian America and atheistic Russia. It is no exaggeration to say that communism, the atomic bomb, and World War III have replaced the Devil, the battle of Armageddon, and hell in Graham's revivals as the major means of instilling the motive of fear.

This is hardly surprising. Never before in human history has it been so easy to invest a worldly power with so many of the attributes of the Prince of Evil (though the liquor traffic came close). Communists can be portrayed as a fifth column in the United States; they can be shown to control half the world; they possess the bombs which can destroy civilization and even the earth itself; and they are blatantly anti-Christian. In fact, communism, as it is conceived by the popular imagination, is surprisingly comparable in its beliefs and its apparently pervasive, worldly omnipotence to the supernatural force of Satan. Graham makes the most of this popular superstition.

In fact, Graham himself is absolutely convinced that communism is supernaturally directed, that its whole conception and progress has been guided by Satan, that the United States is the last hope of the world and of Christianity against this anti-Christ. "My own theory about Communism," Graham said in September, 1957, "is that it is master-minded by Satan. . . . I think there is no other explanation for the tremendous gains of Communism in which they seem to outwit us at every turn, unless they have supernatural power and wisdom and intelligence given to

them.”⁴³ In a sermon on communism entitled “Satan’s Religion,” Graham declared in 1953 “The Devil is their God; Marx, their prophet; Lenin their saint; and Malenkov their high priest.” (Since then he has substituted Khrushchev for Malenkov.) As Graham sees it, the Bible itself indicates that Russian communism is the anti-Christ: “I have been spending much of my time in private study devoted to Bible prophecy,” he says in a sermon called “Christianism vs. Communism”; “I am finding not only interesting but amazing things that bear tremendous light upon the conditions of this very hour. . . . There are strong indications that the 38th and 39th chapters of Ezekiel are devoted almost entirely to the tremendous rise of Russia in the latter days. There are strong indications in the Bible that in the last days a great sinister anti-Christian movement will arise. At this moment it appears that Communism has all the earmarks of this great anti-Christian movement. . . . Almost all ministers of the gospel and students of the Bible agree that it is master-minded by Satan himself.”⁴⁴

Graham is cautious about predicting the exact date for the end of the world and the second coming of Christ. To do that would destroy the air of expectancy upon which revivalism thrives, and if the date came and went with the prediction unfulfilled, Graham would be thoroughly discredited as a revivalist. But Graham has flatly stated in his sermon on the Second Coming, “I sincerely believe, if I can study the Scriptures aright and read current events and keep up with my current reading, that we are living in the latter days. I sincerely believe that the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.”⁴⁵ And he has made numerous predictions about the coming of World War III which he often compares to and even equates with the battle of Armageddon. For example, in the fall of 1950 he said, “I believe the judgment hand of God is about to fall upon you tonight, but I believe that God is long-suffering. God’s mercy is staying and holding His hand back for maybe one more year. We may have another year, maybe two years, to work for Jesus Christ and [then] ladies and gentlemen, I believe it’s all going to be

over. . . . I said in Los Angeles one year ago that we had five years. People laughed; some sneered. I'd like to revise that statement and say that we may have two years. Two years and it's all going to be over."⁴⁶ A year later in Hollywood he reported, "Kenneth DeCorsey [*sic*] cabled from London that all of Russia's planning [for World War III] is toward an Autumn, 1952, deadline. He lamented the fact that British, American, and French planners are gearing toward the Autumn of 1953. He believes we are missing it by a year."⁴⁷ In August, 1952, Graham stated, "Unless this nation turns to Christ within the next few months, I despair of its future."⁴⁸

Each new international crisis, from Russia's acquisition of the atomic bomb to the landing of the United States Marines in Lebanon, has been an occasion for Graham to predict that the battle of Armageddon is at hand. He has always been particularly anxious to point out that "The Bible teaches us that history began in the Middle East . . . and the Bible teaches us that it will end in the Middle East."⁴⁹ Hence the crises over Iranian oil, Israel's border clashes, the rise of Nasser, the Suez invasion, the revolution in Iraq, have all been grist for his mill of prophecy. In February, 1957, after the debacle over Suez, Graham gave a sermon on "The Signs of the Times" in which he again referred to the important chapters in Ezekiel: "An Arab professor at Cambridge told me that the third world war would start within five years and it would start in the Middle East. In the 37th, 38th, and 39th chapters of Ezekiel we find accurately foretold some of the events of the latter days leading up to the great battle of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and the last battle of history which has been called the battle of Armageddon. Many interpret these passages to mean that Israel would be a thorn in the side of her neighbors and would be persecuted by many nations to the point of complete despair. The great battle will take place when the armies of the north, which many believe to be Russia, will move into the Middle East."⁵⁰

Graham makes no bones about the fact that World War

III (and presumably Armageddon) will be between Russia and the United States. In all of his sermons the United States represents the forces of good and Russia the forces of evil. "I believe that America is truly the last bulwark of Christian civilization," he said in 1952.⁵¹ Two years later he said again, "I am more impressed than ever with America's responsibility in this complex world. We might as well face it; there is a war on in the world for the minds of the human race."⁵² While he continually deplores the moral decay in the United States he nevertheless declares, "In spite of all the corruption, crime, and moral decay this is still the greatest country in the world." And "We are engaged in a death struggle with Communism."⁵³

It is obvious therefore that "we were created for a spiritual mission among the nations."⁵⁴ "Throughout the entire world at this moment Christianity and communism are battling for the minds of men."⁵⁵ And America is the champion of Christianity. "But America cannot survive, she cannot carry out her God-appointed mission, without the spiritual emphasis which was hers from the outset."⁵⁶ Here the link between revivalism and patriotism becomes apparent. Here also is an implicit link between Christianity and the American way of life as represented by free enterprise capitalism. "Until this nation humbles itself and prays and . . . receives Christ as Savior, there is no hope for preserving the American way of life." And "Only as millions of Americans turn to Jesus Christ at this hour and accept him as Savior, can this nation possibly be spared the onslaught of a demon-possessed communism." "You say, 'But Billy, I'm only one person.' Ah, yes, but when you make your decision, it is America through you making its decision."⁵⁷

The whole picture falls into focus as Graham insists that personal, national, and international problems all can be solved by a revival in the hearts of individuals. "Dishonesty, private and public immorality, infidelity, Communism, and all the other things that are troubling us today, would never prevail among a people who honor God and whose hearts are full of faith and of the Holy Spirit. The Church

is the channel through which God sends the streams of blessing down to the nation, and I urge all of you today that love America and who have an appreciation for the blood that was shed in Korea and have a pride when you hear our National Anthem or see the Stars and Stripes wave, to fall upon your knees as an individual and . . . pray and turn from your wicked ways, that God might send the revival that we so desperately need as a nation.”⁵⁸

That Christianity and patriotism are synonymous Graham makes perfectly explicit. “If you would be a true patriot then become a Christian. If you would be a loyal American, then become a loyal Christian.”⁵⁹ And it is almost equally explicit that a patriot is a man whose economic, religious, and political beliefs are very conservative or right-wing. “Civilization stands at the cross roads. If the world elects to go to the left and embrace this Godless philosophy of deceit, force, and bloodshed, it will plunge into the dark abyss of totalitarian despair and gloom and ultimate annihilation. If it turns to the right and takes the way of the cross, we well might be entering the greatest economic and spiritual renaissance that modern man has known.”⁶⁰ In his sermon on “Satan’s Religion” Graham stated his five-point program by which every American “can most effectively combat communism.” “First: By old-fashioned Americanism. . . . Secondly: By conservative and Evangelical Christianity. . . . Thirdly: By prayer. . . . Fourthly: By a genuine spiritual revival. . . . Fifthly: By personal Christian experience.”

Since Graham has no faith in any form of humanly organized resistance to communism, he instructs his congregations to have no faith in them. He constantly demonstrates the hopelessness of the world situation and the fact that mankind “has reached the end of its tether.” In fact, it seems at times that Graham does not think that even a great spiritual revival in the United States would suffice. The question was once put to him, “Suppose all the 150 million people in the United States were to be converted . . . we are still left facing . . . the aggressive power of Soviet Russia

with perhaps 800 million people under its control. Now just how would the conversion of all Americans affect the solution of that concrete problem?" Graham answered, "I sincerely believe if Americans turned to God at this moment, we would have divine intervention on our side. . . . We can never lick communism with flesh and blood and guns and bullets. It's going to take the divine help of Almighty God."⁶¹ Or, as he put it elsewhere, "If this nation would repent of its sins . . . God Himself would intervene and frustrate and blind the Russians as He did the armies of old."⁶²

But this does not necessarily mean that after God frustrates Russia the world will go on as before under America's leadership. As far as Graham is concerned the "satanic, supernaturally empowered" force of communism can only be conquered by the return of Christ in person. This is the intervention he has in mind, and this is why the start of World War III will be the end of the world. "God's answer to the challenge of Communism is—Christ. God's method of setting at nought the councils of men is to place the Messiah on the throne of David. God shall deal with the rebellion by sending back the Redeemer. . . . He shall establish His Kingdom. The 'Age of Righteousness' shall be ushered in, the Millennium shall begin, when He returns. It must be this way. The world shall never have peace until the Prince of Peace returns."⁶³ If Graham were consistent in this, he would have to admit that patriotic individual conversions, no matter how numerous, would be useless. The world is doomed whether there is a revival or not. He would have to agree with Moody's statement, "I look upon this world as a wrecked vessel. God has given me a lifeboat and said to me, 'Moody, save all you can.'"

But Graham is not consistent, and his patriotism and optimism often triumph over his pessimistic premillennialism. "As a minister of the gospel, I am an optimist," he says. "The world's problems are big, but God is bigger." And "with God all things are possible. It is not all hopeless. . . . A spiritual awakening will restore our spiritual heri-

tage, create moral stamina and consciousness, bring back the sanctity of the home . . . strengthen the bulwarks of freedom and bring integrity back to the people of the world.”⁶⁴

It is this affirmative note which has given Graham his widest appeal, particularly among nonfundamentalists. In spite of his prophecies of hopelessness, he has always urged strong military defense and the utmost efforts in preparedness: “We must maintain strong military power for defense at any cost,” he said on the Capitol steps in 1952. “We must maintain our economic stability for security. We must continue confidence in each other . . . remembering that we are all Americans and that America is the nation that has made every man a king.”⁶⁵ He has also urged a foreign policy which would take the offensive in combating communism both in Europe and Asia by encouraging armed rebellion among satellite nations behind the Iron Curtain and by aiding Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee to wage open warfare against Communist China. This activist element in his preaching appeals to the American faith in human effort. Many persons who do not share Graham’s pietism and premillennialism support his revivals because they believe Graham stands for the old Cromwellian motto, “Praise the Lord and keep your powder dry.” Graham is trying to have the best of both the pessimistic and the optimistic view of the world situation. He too seems to be saying that God will help those who help themselves. But there is little doubt that the main emphasis of his message and of his personal belief lies on the pessimistic side, just as there is little doubt that the hard core of his audience is made up of premillennialists.

To the extent that Graham places almost his entire reliance for solving world problems upon divine intervention and reduces human effort to the tasks of prayer, soul-winning, and Bible-reading, he is, in fact, preaching a religion of escape. In one of his revival sermons Graham offers an excellent illustration of the head-in-the-sand attitude to which his pessimism often leads him. In discussing the sense of peace and serenity which is available to all Chris-

tians, he refers to a painting entitled "Peace" which he once saw: "The storm is raging, the lightning was flashing, the wind was blowing, the sea was crashing against the rocks, and under the ledge of the rocks there was a little bird with its head under its wing asleep. That is peace." ⁶⁶

Kenneth de Courcy summed up Graham's message fairly accurately when he said: "It follows [from Graham's preaching] that a confidence is created which before was entirely lacking; and that a mass of people once afraid and divided become united and brave because inherent in Dr. Graham's preaching is the certainty of human failure, upon which is super-imposed the certainty of Divine intervention and thus, the saving of the world situation. . . . If you like, it is escapism in its ultimate form." ⁶⁷

The end result of Graham's pulpit technique then is to exacerbate and exalt the fears and doubts, the frustrations and anxieties, both personal and world-wide, of his congregations and radio listeners. Having reduced those who seek peace of soul to a state of panic and hopelessness, he then offers them a quick and simple way out—a mass ritual of atonement which, momentarily at least, assures them that they have done all they could, that they have been forgiven for their mistakes, and that now a higher power will take over and do what they are unable to do. Meanwhile, they have the satisfaction of knowing that they are on the Lord's side, that they are assured of safety and eternal bliss no matter what happens. And, if they are so inclined, they can also play a small but important part in promoting the divine redemption of the world by trying to convert others to the Christian way of life—or by helping Billy Graham to do so. This is the essence of all revival preaching and this Graham does superlatively well.

But there is more to Billy Graham's revivals than preaching.

Revival Mechanics

Every organization that has anything worthwhile to offer the public seizes the opportunity provided by the miracle of modern communication. We are presenting the greatest product in the world. So why not give it at least as much promotion as a bar of soap?

BILLY GRAHAM ¹

Billy Graham's career since his Portland, Oregon, crusade in the summer of 1950 has been a steady progression of success although there were indications by 1958 that he had passed the peak of his popularity. Between the 1949 crusade in Los Angeles and the Charlotte, North Carolina, crusade in the fall of 1958, Graham conducted thirty-two revival campaigns in the United States, one in Toronto, Canada, and eight abroad. Several of these were tours covering wide areas, not centered in any one city. Such for example were his tour of New England in 1950 and his tours of Europe, Asia, Australia, and the Caribbean. Of his thirty-two revivals in the United States, nineteen took place in the South or Southwest, six in the Far West, four in the East and three in the Midwest. Graham averaged five crusades a year, speaking face-to-face to a total attendance of about two million people each year. His total conversions, including those made by radio and television listeners who wrote

in to tell him about it, averaged over 100,000 a year or close to a million for the decade. Only Billy Sunday surpassed Graham's face-to-face record; Moody and Finney were hopelessly outdistanced. And even Sunday could not come close to matching Graham's radio, television, and newspaper coverage.

Graham has suffered only two setbacks in his career so far. The first occurred in September, 1950, when he tried in vain to fill the Rose Bowl for a mammoth rally. Despite heroic efforts by his team and friends, more than half of the 101,000 seats were empty.² The second setback was his miscalculation about coming to New York City. He thought he was ready to tackle it in 1953. Plans were agreed upon, announcements made, and preparation under way in 1952 when the crusade had to be called off because too many of the city's Protestant churches proved unwilling to cooperate with him.³ He recouped this misstep in 1957 when his sixteen week crusade in New York brought him to the pinnacle of his career.

To recount the endless statistics of each individual crusade would be tedious, but there is some point in demonstrating the size and scope of his work by a chronological list of the places he visited. His itinerary since 1947, when he first began independent revival campaigns, has been as follows:

1947—Grand Rapids, Michigan; Charlotte, North Carolina.

1948—Des Moines, Iowa; Augusta, Georgia; Modesto, California.

1949—Miami, Florida; Baltimore, Maryland; Altoona, Pennsylvania; Los Angeles, California.

1950—Boston, Massachusetts; Columbia, South Carolina; New England tour; Portland, Oregon; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Atlanta, Georgia.

1951—Fort Worth, Texas; Shreveport, Louisiana; Memphis, Tennessee; Seattle, Washington; Hollywood, California; Greensboro, North Carolina.

1952—Washington, D. C.; Houston, Texas; Jackson, Mississippi; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Albuquerque,

New Mexico; Korea (to visit United States armed forces).

1953—Chattanooga, Tennessee; St. Louis, Missouri; Dallas, Texas; Syracuse, New York; Detroit, Michigan; Asheville, North Carolina.

1954—London, England; European tour; Nashville, Tennessee; New Orleans, Louisiana; West Coast tour.

1955—Glasgow, Scotland; London (one week); European tour; Toronto, Canada; Cambridge University, England (one week).

1956—Asian tour; Richmond, Virginia; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Louisville, Kentucky.

1957—Yale University (one week); New York, New York.

1958—Caribbean tour; San Francisco, California; California tour; Charlotte, North Carolina.

1959—Australian tour; Indianapolis, Indiana.

1960—African tour; Washington, D.C. (one week); tours of Switzerland and Germany; New York City (one week).

The average city campaign lasted four or five weeks, had a total attendance of 300,000 to 500,000 and a total of 5000 to 7000 trail hitters. Statistically Graham's best crusade occurred in Sydney, Australia, in May, 1959, where he claimed over 56,000 trail hitters in 28 days. Costs varied considerably from city to city but averaged roughly \$100,000 for each campaign or about \$20,000 to \$25,000 per week. These averages do not include the long and elaborate meetings in London, Glasgow, and New York which were considerably above the average in all respects. The statistics for these larger meetings were as follows:

		<i>Total</i>		
	<i>Length</i>	<i>Attendance</i>	<i>Decisions</i>	<i>Expenses</i>
London	12 weeks	1,500,000	38,447	\$ 420,000
Glasgow	6 weeks	500,000	19,835	150,000
New York	16 weeks	2,019,100	56,767	2,500,000

(N.B. These figures vary according to whether they include meetings conducted by Graham's associates and relay meetings and whether decisions from radio and television broadcasts are counted. The above statistics do not include these "extras" but they do include the climactic stadium meetings.)

The statistics of Moody's and Sunday's largest meetings reveal that Sunday obtained a higher proportion of decisions at a smaller investment of time and money than Graham, while Moody obtained a lower proportion.

SUNDAY	Length	Total Attendance	Decisions	Expenses	Freewill Offering
New York	10 weeks	1,250,000	98,264	\$200,168.87	\$120,490.26
Boston	10 weeks	1,500,000	64,484	93,000.00	53,585.00
Chicago	10 weeks	1,000,000	49,165	135,000.00	56,000.00
Philadelphia	11 weeks	2,000,000	41,724	105,889.95	53,246.80
MOODY					
London	22 weeks	2,400,000	3000-7000	\$140,000	unknown
Philadelphia	10 weeks	1,050,000	3500-12,000	50,000	unknown
Chicago	16 weeks	1,500,000	2500-10,000	70,000	unknown
New York	10 weeks	1,500,000	3500-8000	30,000	unknown

The ever increasing size and scope of Graham's activities after 1950 necessitated a steady increase in his organization. In addition to increasing the number of assistants who helped him conduct his campaigns, he had continually to increase the staff of his Minneapolis headquarters, expand his motion picture company, hire more publicists to edit his magazines, *World Evangelism* and *Decision*, hire a staff of research assistants, and employ legal and secretarial help for his personal affairs. The only work Graham curtailed was his presidency of the Northwestern Schools. He resigned from that position in November, 1951, but continued to serve as president of its board of trustees until February, 1952.

In addition to his headquarters in Minneapolis, Graham also opened offices in Washington, D. C., Winnipeg, Canada, London, England, Sydney, Australia, and for a time in Dallas, Texas. All of these offices were designed to promote his evangelism in one way or another. The organizational pyramiding and interlocking directorates of these corporate enterprises made Billy Sunday's plant look puny by comparison. Professional mass evangelism had first assumed some of the aspects of big business in Moody's day, but Moody would have been appalled at the amount of organization, advertising, promotion, and solicitation which went into soul-winning in the 1950's.

The Minneapolis office still continues to be the coordinating center of Graham's far-flung enterprises. Starting with one secretary in a one-room office in the fall of 1950, it grew so large by 1958 that it needed a staff of two hundred, a four-story office building, and tens of thousands of dollars worth of I.B.M., Remington, and Phillips-Elliott electronic business machines to cope with its tasks. This headquarters receives and answers ten thousand letters each week, collects and disburses over two million dollars a year, and sends out six to eight promotional and solicitation mailings annually to its list of 1,250,000 supporters (at a cost of \$20,000 per mailing). It is the largest user of the United States Post Office in the city of Minneapolis.

From its beginning the Minneapolis office has been under the able and efficient direction of Graham's business manager, George M. Wilson, whose official title is still Secretary-Treasurer of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, Inc. Wilson's main task is to help raise the funds necessary for Graham's radio and television broadcasts. But the office also continues to spend a great deal of time answering the thousands of letters written to Graham asking for personal and spiritual advice, and it also plays a part in sending instructional literature to Graham's converts. Typical of the mechanization of revivalism is the manner in which the Minneapolis headquarters handles the letters seeking Graham's advice. These plaintive requests arrive at the rate of about five hundred a day from all over the United States and the rest of the world. They are at first screened, as all letters to the office are, for contributions. If they contain money, checks, or pledges a record is made of the donation and a letter of thanks with a receipt goes out immediately. Next the letter passes to a group of seven women who try to pigeonhole the central problem troubling the writer into one of forty prearranged categories. Among these categories are financial worries, marital discord, wayward children, serious illness, bereavement, chronic drinking by spouse, inability to find God, and spiritual doubt. For each of the forty categories a form letter has been devised by Graham's staff and has been recorded on perforated tape for use in the

office's tandem automatic typewriters. A secretary types the sender's name at the head of the letter and Billy Graham's signature is mechanically duplicated at the end. Everyone who has indicated that he is having difficulty finding God receives the same form letter; everyone having mental problems receives the same letter; and everyone having child-raising problems receives the same letter. These letters are couched in general terms and refer to Biblical passages which either mention the particular problem or which counsel resignation, faith, and prayer. Graham says that he has talked with Norman Vincent Peale and Bishop Fulton J. Sheen about this method of mass counseling and finds that they used a method very similar to his with the same number and variety of categories.⁴

Those letters which cannot be pigeonholed are passed on to two ministerial members of the staff who dictate personal replies to several dozen a day. Apart from those letters of obvious personal or business importance, less than one hundred letters out of the thousands received each week are sent to Graham's home in Montreat, North Carolina. These are answered by members of his personal secretarial staff after consultation with Graham. About six of them are selected each week for publication and public answer through Graham's daily newspaper column, "My Answer" (later called "Billy Graham Says").

The Minneapolis office also keeps on file a record of all decisions for Christ which are made either at Graham's revivals or through his broadcasts (listeners on radio and television are urged to write to Graham in care of Minneapolis if they have been converted as a result of one of his broadcasts). These names are all entered on filing cards. As Graham told a group of ministers in London in order to impress them with his efficient follow-up, "I can tell you this, that we are keeping statistics and we are now in the process of being able to tell you where every one of these people are. We can pull out a card and give the whole spiritual case history of each convert."⁵ The Minneapolis office mails instructional literature, consisting principally of

Bible study courses, to each convert. The convert is asked to write for additional instruction material over a three to six month period as he completes each course. There is no charge made for these lessons in Christian development, but it is assumed that all converts will donate voluntarily to support Graham's work and if they put their names on Graham's mailing list, they are solicited regularly. The solicitation usually consists of a form letter from Graham and a business reply envelope. On the flap of the reply envelope is printed a blank check made out to the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. On the envelope itself a pledge reads:

With God as my helper, and in dependence upon Him, I make the following PLEDGE:

___prayer support. ___financial support. . . . \$___weekly. . . .

\$___monthly. I herewith enclose (circle or write in):

\$___ \$100 \$50 \$25 \$10 \$5 \$3 \$2 \$1 \$___

Name_____

Street_____

City_____zone_____state_____

All gifts to the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association are deductible for income tax purposes.

The Minneapolis staff are all dedicated, born-again fundamentalists. The office contains a special prayer room which employees are invited to use. Every morning starts with devotional services attended by all of the staff. Staff members must be not only church members but nonsmokers and nondrinkers. The pay is admittedly below standard for office help and the employees often work long hours without overtime pay. But for them it is service for God and not for personal profit. Every typist and file clerk is as dedicated a partner in support of Graham's revivals as are the members of his "team."

The team itself has more than quadrupled in size over the years in order to divide the labor of each phase of the campaigns and to free Graham from all burdens except that of preaching. In 1950 the team consisted of five basic members: Cliff Barrows, choir leader and master of ceremonies;

George Beverly Shea, soloist; Grady Wilson, associate evangelist who conducted outside meetings in churches, offices, and factories and stood in for Graham when he was overtired or ill; Jerry Beavan, executive secretary and public relations director; and Willis G. Haymaker, in charge of advance preparations. By the time Graham began his New York City crusade in May, 1957, the team had twenty-two regular members and a corps of twenty "special assistants" who took part in the large crusades. The more important additions to the team since 1950 have been Charles Riggs, who directs the counseling and follow-up work (in association with the Navigators); Dan Piatt, assistant to Riggs; Tedd Smith, pianist; Paul Mickelson, organist (later replaced by Lorne Whitney); three associate evangelists; Leighton Ford (Graham's brother-in-law), Joseph Blinco (a British Methodist minister), and Paul S. Rees (a former president of the National Association of Evangelicals who worked in the London and Glasgow crusades); Mrs. Elizabeth Lowry, press secretary and assistant to Beavan (she left the team in 1959); Paul J. Maddox, personal secretary to Graham; and Walter F. Bennett who, though not officially on the team, takes charge of the commercial advertising over local radio and television stations.

All of the team members are born-again Christians. Most of them, like Graham, were in their early thirties when the 1950's commenced. Almost all of them have had some training in Bible colleges, and several were active in Youth for Christ. They are hard-working, enthusiastic, pious young men who radiate good will and determination. One New York columnist referred to the team as "a curious mixture of prairie town corn, Rotary Club exuberance, and the hard-boiled approach of a political campaign headquarters."⁶

Special assistants to the Graham team who lent color and performed useful tasks in New York and other campaigns included the Rev. Abdul Haqq, an assistant evangelist from India; Mel Dibble, formerly a radio announcer for the Kate Smith radio show who produced and announced the daily television program for the New York crusade (a local pro-

gram); the Rev. Tom Allen, a dynamic young Scottish evangelist who conducted meetings on evangelistic methods for New York pastors; Lane Adams, a former night club singer now studying for the ministry who evangelized among New York actors and entertainers; Walter H. Smyth, a Maryland layman who was director of reservations for delegations and assisted Haymaker in the advance work; Paul E. Little, a ministerial student who preached on the various college campuses in the New York area; and Patricia Campion, a convert of Graham's London crusade who spoke at "drawing room meetings" to New York's social elite.

In addition to his personal secretary and executive secretary, Graham hired a former newspaperman, Lee Fisher, as his research assistant in order to help him gather material for writing his sermons, books, and newspaper articles. He also had part-time research assistance after 1957 from Robert O. Ferm, the Dean of Students at a small Bible college in New York State (in 1959 Ferm became a permanent member of the Minneapolis headquarters). Graham was sadly in need of some research assistance in regard to history for in sermons delivered as late as 1957 he referred to the French Revolution as though it preceded the Wesleyan Revival, he called Jonathan Edwards "a nineteenth century evangelical revivalist," he said the leader of the Scrooby Pilgrims was John Robertson, and he confused Lyman Beecher with his son Henry Ward Beecher.

Graham's decision to enter television in the fall of 1951 did not prove satisfactory. Though not exactly a setback to his career, it was not sufficiently successful to compensate for the time and expense entailed. The half-hour show ran for about two and one-half years and was filmed in advance each week. Graham stated that although it reached an audience of eight to ten million weekly over twenty stations, it had to be dropped because it was expensive and because it restricted his revival crusades. Moreover, Graham was not at his best before a camera in a studio. He needed a revival audience in order to come to life. During the New York campaign, arrangements were made to telecast his Satur-

day night meetings direct from Madison Square Garden over a coast-to-coast hookup. It almost doubled the cost of the crusade but it elicited such a wide and enthusiastic response that Graham repeated the practice during his San Francisco and Charlotte crusades in 1958 and his Australian crusades in 1959.

Graham's "film ministry" expanded because each new crusade produced a new documentary film and often a new full-length dramatic feature. By 1959 Graham had seven documentaries and six full-length features available for hire, most of them in color. A staff of twelve, headed by Dick Ross, managed the filming, printing, and distribution. In 1957 the title of the motion picture company was changed from Billy Graham Evangelistic Films, Inc., to World Wide Pictures when it merged with Ross' Great Commission Films Company.

With the exception of movies, television, and radio broadcasts, however, the actual mechanics of Graham's revivalism contained little that had not been foreshadowed by Moody and Sunday. The system Graham evolved after 1950 was simply an elaboration of that used by Sunday and passed on to Graham by Haymaker. The operation of the revivals was distinctly separate from the Minneapolis headquarters. It was controlled by Graham and his team of experts from start to finish. (The offices of the team headquarters were originally in Dallas, Texas; in 1955 they were moved to Washington, D. C., and in 1958 they were moved to Charlotte, North Carolina, where Graham also has his "personal executive office.") The steps of a city-wide crusade are simple enough in outline. They consist first of the formal invitation extended to the evangelist by the local ministers, second, the financial arrangements to underwrite the campaign; third, the advance preparation; fourth, the campaign proper; and fifth, the follow-up to consolidate the effect of the campaign. These were the steps Moody followed and Sunday followed and which every professional evangelist of any importance has followed since the Civil War.

Graham, like Moody and Sunday, made the decision early in his career that he would never try to conduct a revival campaign in a city unless he had the cooperation and support of the ministers of that city. Though he adopted an "all-inclusive policy" in regard to the denominational and theological support he was willing to accept, it was essential that he know in advance that at least a majority of the "evangelical" churches of each would be behind him. Graham told a large group of British churchmen in March, 1952, "We do not go to any city now unless we are invited by the church. We haven't been to a city in eighteen months in which we were not invited by the churches of the city. And in many cases, particularly in the South, it is the Church Federation which invites us."⁷ When Moody and Sunday said that they required an invitation from a majority of the evangelical churches before they would hold a crusade in a city, they meant simply that they required the support of a majority of the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Disciples (and, if they could get them, of the Episcopalians and Lutherans). But when Graham uses the term "evangelical" he equates it with those who accept his fundamentalist theology. Since "evangelicals" of this sort are in a minority in most big cities, Graham has had to adopt an "all-inclusive" policy which accepts support from liberals and modernists. For this he has been criticized severely by many fundamentalists, but he has no choice if he wishes to make any impact on the cities. Graham has never set any definite figure or proportion of churches in a city which must support him before he will come. Actually the number or percentage of churches cooperating in a crusade is not so important as the fact that there are enough of them (and of the important ones) to provide the funds, the volunteer workers, and the level of community support needed to make the crusade a success. It is part of the business of the professional evangelist to know when an invitation from any city represents this level of support.

The task of obtaining a clear mandate from urban Prot-

estants for a mass revivalistic campaign is by no means easy. In large cities with three hundred to three thousand Protestant churches and several dozen different denominations, neither the ministers nor the laymen are always eager to lay aside personal or traditional quarrels, even for the sake of saving souls. Graham has not lacked invitations, but he has not been so foolish as to accept them all. Every invitation is carefully examined before he commits himself. Too much is at stake to take a chance with failure. Usually months or years of behind-the-scenes manipulation go on between Graham's team and the ministers and laymen of a city before an open invitation is given and publicly accepted. Neither Graham nor the ministers want the bad publicity of a tentative acceptance and then a withdrawal. Consequently, before any invitation is even considered, certain conditions set by Graham have to be met.

In addition to requiring the promised support of the majority of the "evangelical" churches and a sizable proportion of the other Protestant churches, Graham also requires that the local group agree to furnish a meeting place suitable to him, that they accept the full responsibility for financing the meetings, and that they agree to follow to the letter the prescriptions and commands of the Graham team in preparing for and conducting every phase of the campaign. Graham presumes that the churches need him just as much as he needs them and that as the foremost revivalist of the day he can set the terms for his services. The ministers, meanwhile, recognize that Graham can draw crowds and stir religious interest which they sadly need and cannot arouse. They also presume that he can produce thousands of new church members for their city and reactivate an equal number of lukewarm members or former members. He counts on their full cooperation and they on his experience and ability to stimulate the religious life of the churches. In practical terms this is the meaning and the function of professional evangelism as it has been institutionalized in American Protestantism.

The details of the behind-the-scenes maneuvering which

precedes a commitment by Graham to conduct a crusade consist primarily of obtaining the necessary pledge of ministerial support and of spelling out the mechanical and financial aspects of the transaction in terms suitable to both sides. Evangelism is very much a matter of cool calculation at this stage. The movement to invite Graham to a city usually originates with a few prominent evangelical ministers who know Graham and his work personally through Youth for Christ or the National Association of Evangelicals and who seek to arouse their colleagues to agree that a Graham crusade would be good for their churches. In this the clergymen are usually aided by some of the more prominent laymen. In fact, in some cities the laymen have been the prime movers and not the clergy. Christian businessmen's groups and the International Christian Leadership organization (in Washington, D. C.) were particularly active in promoting Graham's early revivals.⁸

It is interesting to note how many times the leading figures in Graham's campaigns have been men who either were themselves active in the support of former evangelists like Sunday, Gypsy Smith, J. Wilbur Chapman, and Reuben A. Torrey, or who come from families which have long been active in promoting such movements. In New York, for example, the Phelps and Dodges, who supported Graham in 1957, have been promoting mass revivals in that city since the 1820's when Anson G. Phelps and William E. Dodge first invited Charles Grandison Finney to rejuvenate the churches of "Satan's capital." The Vanderbilts, Goulds, and Whitneys have supported Moody, Sunday, and Graham. A number of ministers on Graham's New York committee like John W. Bradbury, Theodore F. Savage, and Jesse M. Bader also supported Billy Sunday's campaign in New York in 1917. Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, who was also on Graham's New York committee, was converted by Sunday during his New York campaign. In every city he has visited Graham has been welcomed by old-timers who see him as Sunday's legitimate successor.

There are also prominent churches in every city which

have maintained the revival spirit and attracted ministers and laymen of this type for generations, such as Park Street Church in Boston, Moody Church in Chicago, and Calvary Baptist Church in New York. In addition to those ministers who support the Youth for Christ movement and who belong to the National Association of Evangelicals, Graham has generally received the cooperation of a wide range of fundamentalists and neofundamentalists who see him as one of their own and are anxious to have him boost their theological and ecclesiastical cause.⁹ There are also the publicity-hungry and self-important city ministers who eagerly push anything new which has the possibility of bringing religion and the clergy into the limelight. And there are local businessmen who, whether they agree with Graham or not, feel that a religious revival would be "a good thing" for their city. As the *Houston Post* reported of Graham's revival there in 1952, "Businessmen . . . became interested because of its importance as a civic function."¹⁰ For the same reason Graham can almost always count on organizations like the local Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, and Lions to lend support.

But all of these elements could not be brought into coordination without some effort and what is more the large body of moderate Protestants, lay and clerical, would not enter a Graham crusade without some goading. In large part this pressure is locally applied by the leaders of the group which is determined to invite Graham. They do it by friendly buttonholing at ministerial and business meetings; they do it by forming self-appointed committees and delegations which visit prominent men and talk them into lending their names to the movement; they do it, on occasion, by coercion, especially when a clergyman is found holding out against his most prominent laymen. The threat of dismissal has more than once been used against a pastor to whip him into line for an evangelistic campaign. The *Christian Century* reported of Graham's first attempt to obtain an invitation to come to New York: "A few years ago when he announced that he was open to the right kind of

invitation from the right people in the big city, some of the Graham zealots on the *ad hoc* committee made things so hot for the 'right people' that the evangelist lost part of the sponsorship he required and called the whole thing off." And in Seattle, Washington, in 1951, "Twelve churches reported that considerable pressure had been put on them to secure their cooperation. Some of the pressure came from sister churches in their own communions and some from members of the crusade committee."¹¹

It is clear that the members of Graham's team, particularly Beavan and Haymaker, play an active and influential part in helping round up ministerial and lay support in a city for a united evangelical front. They do this by explaining away objections, real and imaginary, which have been raised against various aspects of Graham's work. Speaking informally to local religious and business groups in a city which is considering a Graham crusade, they allay fears about excessive commercialism, excessive emotionalism, excessive fundamentalism, or excessive reliance upon statistics and machinery. They provide testimonials from church and civic leaders in cities which have gone through a Graham crusade. They bring ministers and converts who have taken part in a crusade to give their encomiums in person. They provide all sorts of pamphlets, brochures, and illustrative material to show the efficiency of Graham's work. They claim that Graham's revivals in many cities have been accompanied by decreases in crime, divorce, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, labor unrest, and corruption and by increases in the sales of Bibles, church attendance, formation of Bible classes, and the payment of old debts. And above all they demonstrate by their own piety, respectability, enthusiasm, and fervent evangelical spirit that the team is a consecrated and "church-centered" group interested in advancing the cause of the Christian religion in general and not of Graham or his organization.

If there is still resistance on the part of influential laymen and pastors whose opposition would be fatal to the crusade, Graham himself is called in and demonstrates his own sin-

cerity and conviction of the value of evangelistic crusades. In some cities Graham not only addressed meetings of ministers and meetings of businessmen in advance of an invitation, but he conducted a one-night public meeting to demonstrate his ability to draw a crowd and to show the hesitant how powerful (without being hysterical) his preaching can be. Shortly after Graham was invited to New York City, for example, he was informed by his friends and his team that the Episcopalian ministers in the city were unwilling to cooperate in a crusade. Since the Episcopalians are highly influential in New York, Graham came to address these ministers personally and, it is said, won over a sufficient number of them to make the opposition or neutrality of the others less dangerous. Graham also conducted a sample meeting at Madison Square Garden on March 3, 1955, under the sponsorship of Youth for Christ: "This is expected to serve as a 'test,'" said the house organ of the NAE, "of New Yorkers' reaction to his appeal for a spiritual revival."¹² While it ostensibly tested Graham's drawing power and his preaching power, the meeting was obviously packed with persons ardently devoted to the Graham crusade and not with average New Yorkers. Yet many New York ministers accepted the enthusiastic crowd as a proof of Graham's ability to "reach the unchurched."

The difficulties of obtaining support from a majority of the Protestant ministers in a large city like New York was demonstrated not only by Graham's failure to do so in 1953 but also by the fact that only 40 per cent of the members of the Protestant Council of New York, which officially sponsored Graham in 1957, were actively in favor of his coming when they extended the invitation to him in 1955. Another 40 per cent were neutral and either voted without enthusiasm or abstained.¹³ The 20 per cent who opposed him were thus outvoted and Graham was able to maintain that his support represented a majority of the evangelicals in the city. Moreover, many fundamentalist ministers in New York refused to cooperate with Graham because of their antagonism toward the liberal-dominated Protestant

Council. Actually it was not until the crusade began that Graham's office publicly announced that fifteen hundred of the three thousand Protestant churches in the New York area had signified their willingness to support the movement.

In smaller cities, particularly in the South, there has been much less difficulty in arranging ministerial and lay support. The fundamentalist and revival traditions may have burned low in this region from 1920 to 1950, but they never died out. This is one reason why 60 per cent of Graham's American crusades have been in the South and so few in the East.

While the attempt to round up "majority" support goes on, the details of the site for the meeting are discussed by the self-constituted local committee in consultation with Beavan and Haymaker. Only five cities have agreed to build Graham a special tabernacle. In most places Graham uses either the largest auditorium available or an outdoor stadium. The auditoriums usually have the disadvantage of being too small for the crowds Graham can draw, while the stadiums are usually too big and are inconvenient on rainy nights. It is probable that some cities that could otherwise have met all the requirements for a crusade lost the chance because they lacked the facilities.

Once the site is chosen and the majority of evangelical clergymen and laymen (including the most prominent of both) are lined up, the next problem is to find a suitable date for the revival. Graham holds at most five or six full-scale campaigns a year and this means that many cities have had to wait two years or more for his services. (He has kept some cities dangling for months and then turned them down.) This is discouraging to those who have got all fired up in the preliminary skirmishes over uniting the clergy, but it has been an unavoidable problem in mass revivalism since Finney's day.

The second step of the crusade, after Graham has formally accepted the invitation and a site and date have been chosen, is to make the financial preparations. Here Graham follows Sunday's method of suggesting that a local

committee made up of prominent businessmen and ministers be selected to guide the crusade, and that this committee incorporate itself according to the laws of the state in which the city is located. Every revival committee is thus a chartered business corporation and subject to the privileges and requirements of such an organization. One of the principal values of this is to prevent any individual, church, or society, from being held financially responsible for any debts or suits for damages. A second value is that as a non-profit corporation all donations to it can be used as tax deductions which helps in raising the funds. The third value is that it gives a businesslike tone to the meetings and seems to ensure more efficiency. Graham, like Moody and Sunday, always insists that careful records of all expenses and income be kept by the local committee so that the accounts can be audited by a certified public accountant at the conclusion of the crusade and a statement published. This assures the public and the contributors that no individual or church group makes any financial profit from the large sums invested.

Once the general committee is incorporated an executive committee and a finance committee are selected from it, the latter consisting predominantly of businessmen. These committees then begin the task of raising funds. It is assumed that each crusade will pay for itself out of the collections taken during the meetings and out of gifts volunteered by those who may benefit spiritually or otherwise. But cash on hand is needed long before the meetings commence in order to make the necessary preparations. Moody, who never took collections at his meetings, always raised the expenses in advance by cash donations from wealthy individuals. Sunday raised what he called a "guarantee fund" by means of pledges which were then used as collateral for a bank loan sufficient to get the campaign under way. Graham's committees usually attempt to raise about one-third of the estimated expenses by voluntary donations in advance of the meetings. The donations are solicited through the churches, through personal appeals to wealthy

laymen, through mail solicitation of Graham's supporters, by fund-raising luncheons and "inspirational breakfasts." Graham himself, like Sunday, often participates in these fund-raising luncheons to which as many as one thousand wealthy businessmen are invited.^{13a} The amount of money needed in New York was so great that Graham's committee seriously considered using a professional fund-raising organization. In London the finance committee sent letters not only to individuals but to sixteen hundred business firms which presumably contributed for philanthropic reasons. If these methods are not sufficient it is almost always possible to arrange a loan with a local bank for which members of the committee stand as surety.

Usually these advance solicitations are able to raise from one-third to one-half of the total expenditures and the collections taken at the meetings supply the rest. In New Orleans, for example, \$25,000 of the total \$75,000 expenses was raised in advance. In Nashville, advance donations totalled \$31,268.48 and the collections at the meetings, \$57,374.62. In London, local advance donations totalled £48,435, the collections £50,626 (and in addition £40,729 was raised in the United States by the Graham organization). New York was not typical, but the finance committee there raised \$2,004,532.17 by outside gifts and only \$812,938.87 from collections at the meetings.¹⁴

The budget for each crusade is made out in advance largely by the Graham team which knows exactly what is needed and what can be expected. Of course the budget must be cleared with the local executive committee, for the committee is responsible for raising the money. But by and large the committee can do little more than rubber stamp the team's plans. The major items in the budget are the expenses for the meeting place, the advertising, the administrative offices and personnel, the salaries and expenses of the Graham team (excluding Graham), the printing and mailing of promotional material, and the cost of counseling and following up converts. A large item called "miscellaneous" takes care of "unforeseen contingencies."

Whether the meeting place is a specially built tabernacle, a stadium, or an auditorium, it is almost without exception the single most expensive item in a Graham crusade. Tabernacles have cost Graham's committees as much as \$125,000 (in Detroit); the Armory in Washington, D. C., cost a total of \$45,000 for five weeks; the rent of Madison Square Garden and the other meeting places used in New York cost \$622,960.83; the rent for Harringay Arena in London and the running expenses and insurance for it came to £46,670. Stadiums, while they are sometimes given for a nominal rent, inevitably involve a great deal of money for night lighting, renovations, building the platform, the public address system, insurance, and decorating.

The advertising is usually the next most expensive item. It includes the money spent for posters, newspaper ads, radio and television commercials, and billboards. The expenses for the administrative offices or crusade headquarters in each city includes rent for a suite of four to twelve rooms (many of which are filled with machines for handling correspondence and accounting), salary for several stenographers and typists, and the cost of telephone and telegraph services. The living expenses of the Graham team are not as high as they might be, for local hotels frequently offer suites free of charge to Graham and the more important members of his staff in return for the publicity and added business which will come their way. The counseling and follow-up costs are high because it is Graham's practice to hire an office in each city for six months or more following the crusade; this becomes the headquarters for follow-up work; one or two members of the team who specialize in this work stay behind after the crusade ends to run the office, and their living and traveling expenses for that time are considered part of the crusade expenses. In many cities Graham has conducted local radio or television broadcasts daily which seek to extend the influence of the crusade and also to provide publicity. These programs are a considerable extra expense. The daily television program in New York costs \$1400 a week for air time.

In view of all this it is not surprising that Graham's campaigns have cost anywhere from \$20,000 to \$150,000 per week. Moody's averaged \$3000 to \$5000 a week and Sunday's about \$10,000. Allowing for the depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar over the years, critics still question whether Graham's results are in proportion to his increased expenditure.

While the local committee is soliciting advance donations, the preparation for the meetings gets under way. Beavan and Haymaker arrive in the city from six months to a year before the opening date of the crusade to set up the crusade headquarters and direct the organization of local committees. In addition to the general committee, the executive committee, and the finance committee, every crusade has about a dozen smaller committees. These include the pastor's advisory committee to explain evangelistic methods to the local ministers; the cottage meeting committee to organize daily and weekly prayer groups throughout the city; the men's prayer meeting committee; the music committee which obtains volunteers for the choir and has charge of its training and of the sale of hymnbooks; the ushers committee which trains doormen and ushers and has charge of passing the collection plates; the auditorium committee which has charge of decorating and maintaining the auditorium or stadium; the publicity committee which works with Beavan, Mrs. Lowry, and the Walter F. Bennett agency in preparing and carrying out the advertising campaign (usually the volunteers on this committee take care of such tasks as distributing posters and handbills and putting stickers and bumper-cards on automobiles); the children's committee has charge of setting up a nursery at or near the meeting place where mothers deposit their babies while they attend the service (this committee has been dispensed with in recent years); the young people's committee which contacts local youth groups and arranges to have them attend the special young people's meetings; the delegation committee which has charge of reservations for seats at the meetings; and the counseling and follow-up committee

which trains the counselors (in six two-hour meetings) in the proper method of dealing with inquirers who come forward after each sermon. All of these committees are staffed by volunteers from the cooperating churches and a local minister or layman is made the chairman of each. Actually, however, they are under the direction of Beavan and Haymaker during the preparatory months. Once the campaign begins the members of Graham's team who are specialists in each of these areas arrive to take over the supervision of their respective committees.

Apart from the actual preparation for the meetings, the advance work of these committees serves three functions. It enlists thousands of church members in the movement, filling them with enthusiasm for the revival and for church work. It provides publicity which can be fed to the newspapers month by month and week by week as the opening approaches. It creates an air of excitement, expectancy, and concern not only among those directly involved but among their friends and neighbors. When a movement enlists the names of the most prominent leaders of a city and then persuades thousands of respectable families to participate, it has gone a long way toward permeating the life of the community. Graham's team considers it one of the prime assets of mass evangelistic crusades that "they start everybody talking about religion." The churches and their ministers suddenly become front page news and not merely routine items on the Saturday religious page. In addition, as Graham's aides admit, it is logical that those who work hardest for the campaign will want to attend the meetings regularly in order to see the results of their handiwork. Thus the crusade is assured of filling thousands of seats at every meeting with this large group of dedicated workers who provide a responsive unit upon which Graham can rely for whole-hearted enthusiasm.

A large part of the preparation consists in building up reservations for blocks of seats for each night of the crusade. Usually one-half or more of the available seats for each meeting are reserved long before the opening night, and

the opening night is assured of success by reserving at least two-thirds of the seats for church groups. Since part of the purpose of the campaign is to revive the churches, Graham does not feel it necessary to defend the fact that cooperating pastors are urged to reserve seats for their church members as often as once a week throughout the campaign. In New York, for example, Norman Vincent Peale's church members had a special block of seats set aside for them on a set night each week and so did dozens of other ministers. A small block of seats is also kept permanently reserved for parties of "very important people" who may come without notice but who, for obvious reasons, should be given prominent seats in the front. Less defensible perhaps is the practice of inviting large delegations of church people from cities where Graham has had revivals in the past to charter a bus, train, or plane and come hundreds of miles to experience again the excitement of taking part in one of Graham's meetings. During the New York campaign in the summer of 1957 Graham urged his "Hour of Decision" radio listeners to take their summer vacations in New York so that they could attend the meetings. It is hard to see what advantage this provides for the local ministers except in the form of publicity, for the seats might be filled to much better advantage by local people.

It is part of the carefully worked out system of all city-wide crusades to organize them into a series of well-spaced, prearranged climaxes. The decision to invite Graham is the first such climax; his acceptance is the second. The third is the opening night of the campaign; then there is a build-up to the first announced closing date, followed by a series of extensions, each working toward a new climax, until finally a definite closing date is fixed and a huge outdoor rally is held in the largest stadium or outdoor park in the city. Minor climaxes in the form of outdoor rallies are scattered through the campaign.

Graham assists his publicity director in preparing for a climactic opening night by making public statements about the vastness of the undertaking he is about to embark upon;

about the particular sins or sinfulness of that city; and about his own fears and trepidations at undertaking this new and difficult task of revivalism. (It is surprising how many cities seem to have the reputation of being "the graveyard of evangelists.") Every city visited is portrayed as exceedingly wicked and yet a key city for that area and perhaps for the world. "The eyes of the world are upon Columbia" or "Albuquerque" or "Charlotte" Graham says as he approaches each campaign. When he came to Washington, D. C., in 1952, Graham spoke of it as the most important city in the nation, where decisions for Christ among federal legislators and executive officers could change the course of world history. He said the same thing about London two years later. Then New York City was described by him as his most important campaign: "Because of its size and its importance in the cultural and communications field, New York has a special influence on the rest of the country and even the whole world. A spiritual awakening in New York could echo all over the world."¹⁵ Each foreign tour, whether in Europe, Asia, the Caribbean, Australia, or Africa is described as a danger spot in the international scene, perhaps the most vital spot for revivalism. And cities like Atlanta, Dallas, and San Francisco are played up as at least the most important in their region even if not in the country. No local newspaper can afford to miss quoting and commenting upon these challenges or salutes to local pride.

Graham's arrival in the city a day or two preceding the opening meeting is cause for a flood of new publicity releases about what the team expects to do, the amount of preparation completed, the new statistical records in prayer meetings or volunteer workers, and the important personalities participating. A large delegation of local ministers and churchgoers greets Graham at the railroad station or airport with cheers and hymns. Graham is interviewed not only by local newsmen but for the fifteenth or twentieth time by the national press services and national magazines and he offers his opinion on all sorts of questions from women's fashions to foreign policy. The opening night is given added

luster and news value by the attendance of the city's mayor, the governor of the state, senators, congressmen, important socialites and businessmen, local sports or entertainment celebrities, all of whom pay tribute to Graham and praise the great things he will do for their area. In his opening remarks Graham praises the magnificent work of the local committees, states how happy he is to be in this great city, quiets apprehensions about hysteria or eccentricity by saying that he wants no emotionalism but simply quiet acceptance of the old-fashioned message that the Bible proclaimed to their forefathers. The newsmen are impressed by the respectability and reverence of the meeting, the size and enthusiasm of the choirs, the restrained but forceful preaching, and the solemn appeal for converts which brings hundreds of serious or radiant persons down the aisles without a trace of the old camp meeting fervor.

After a climactic opening night the campaign slowly settles into its regular routine. In addition to the main preaching service at seven-thirty each night (and at three on Sunday afternoons) countless smaller meetings are undertaken by Graham and his team. Graham himself makes news by conducting meetings at the state penitentiary, in the veterans hospitals, or on local college campuses. Saturday afternoon services for children are featured. There is a young people's night once a week with delegations from schools, boys clubs, religious societies, and colleges. The week-end meetings are for out-of-town delegations which are featured in proportion to the distance they have come and the size of their group. Special nights are set aside for men's Bible classes, for businessmen, for businesswomen, for old folks. In Houston, Graham conducted a service at a drive-in theatre for "shut-ins" too old or crippled to attend a meeting at the coliseum but able to come by auto. In Memphis, Graham conducted a revival service in an airplane which was carried on the radio to local listeners; the plane was the first in a new schedule of flights by Chicago and Southern Airlines from Detroit to Memphis. It flew in circles over the city as Graham preached. Another method of

maintaining public interest and publicity is the importation of former converts and Christian entertainers who give their testimony at the meetings. The cowboy star Roy Rogers and Dale Evans have appeared at several of Graham's crusades, and at children's meetings Rogers brings his horse, Trigger, to perform. The well-known Broadway singer Ethel Waters has often assisted in this capacity and so have movie starlets Colleen Townsend and Georgia Lee and Metropolitan Opera star Jerome Hines. Donn Moomaw, a former All-American football star, is a favorite celebrity at young people's meetings. And when Graham held a "Teen-age Week" during his New York crusade in an effort to curtail juvenile delinquency, his parade of stars included Carl Erskine, a Dodger pitcher; Ray Robinson, the boxing champion; Red Barber, a sports announcer; the White Sisters, a popular song group; and a trumpet trio.

Spectacular outdoor rallies, however, are the principal means of keeping interest as the campaign proceeds. They not only provide news but stimulate the cooperating churches and their volunteer workers to new activity as attempts are made to fill some vast stadium or park. New York had six such climactic meetings between its opening and closing date: one a meeting at Forest Hills Tennis stadium, the second at Yankee Stadium, another in Harlem, a fourth in Brooklyn, a fifth on Wall Street, and the sixth in Times Square. In Washington the big meeting was held on the Capitol steps. In Boston a meeting was held on Boston Common. In London in Hyde Park and at the Nelson Memorial Monument. While the hope is that these meetings will attract many nonchurchgoers, Graham's team takes no chances and assures a large crowd by urgent pleas to all participating churches and all loyal evangelicals to make "a great Protestant witness" to their faith by coming to each rally. For one of the New York rallies the Minneapolis office sent a mailing to over 100,000 "Prayer Partners" enclosing unsolicited tickets entitling them to reserved seats if they appeared an hour or more before the start of the meeting. Along with the tickets

went a form letter signed by Graham which said, "No matter what the cost or sacrifice you must be at Yankee Stadium on July 20. All of us are going to have to work extremely hard if we are going to fill that great stadium for the glory of God." Graham also uses his "Hour of Decision" broadcasts to urge his followers to support these mammoth meetings.

The build-up to a closing date which is then extended "by popular request" also creates new excitement. The New York campaign was extended three times although each time Graham and the committee said that there would be no further extensions. However, to avoid the possibility that any extensions would conflict with other users of Madison Square Garden the committee had signed a lease before the crusade began which gave them a five-month option even though the crusade was originally planned for only six weeks. A closing rally larger than any of those which occur during the crusade creates the ultimate climactic moment.

The day after the concluding meeting Graham and the team leave the city amidst a blizzard of statistics concerning total attendance, total converts, total meetings conducted. An avalanche of praise by local clergymen, editors, businessmen, and city and state officials testifies to the tremendous and beneficial impact which the crusade has had upon the community. Graham himself exudes confidence that the meetings have been more successful than any he has ever conducted. "We are praying," he said at the conclusion of the New York crusade, "that forces will be starting here that in the next five years will make an impact on this country. I believe there is a spirit of revival today in America. I believe that history will say that 1957 was the year of spiritual awakening."¹⁶

It is another six months before the audited expense account becomes available and a year or more before the results in terms of new church members can be adequately measured.

Converts and Commercialism

All right, we are criticized for spending one million dollars, but how do you evaluate the worth of a soul?

BILLY GRAHAM ¹

The two most frequent complaints made against Billy Graham are the same ones which have been leveled against all professional evangelists: They are that his converts do not stick and that as his organization increases its size and scope it tends to become increasingly commercial in character. Graham denies both criticisms, and so far the critics have not been able to convince the average evangelical minister or layman that these allegations are true. Since Graham has been in the public eye for a decade now, it appears that the critics have had ample opportunity to prove their claims. And yet the nature of revivalism is such that, while the truth or falsity of such claims can probably never be fully demonstrated to the satisfaction of both sides, time is on the side of the critics. For ten years Graham has been saying that America is on the verge of a sweeping, heaven-sent, Holy Ghost revival. For ten years his followers have insisted that Graham is the God-appointed spearhead of such a revival, and Graham has said of himself, "I'm just a Western Union boy delivering God's messages."² Yet Gra-

ham is forced to admit with each passing year that the revival he calls for has not yet begun. America has not yet repented of its sins and turned to God. As time continues to pass, more and more people will begin to wonder whether Graham is really the prophet "with God's message for these crisis days" that his friends claim him to be, or whether he is not simply an extremely able promoter of Protestant church rallies.

The central purpose of each campaign, of course, is to inaugurate a revival of religion. This means first to stimulate new enthusiasm among current or former church members, and second, to awaken nonbelievers or occasional churchgoers to the need for saving their souls and joining a church. The high point of each service and of the meetings as a whole is the call for sinners to repent and be saved. Graham follows the usual procedure of giving an "altar call" or an "invitation," to accept Christ at the conclusion of every sermon. Having worked up to his dramatic climax regarding the need for making an immediate choice, he says: "You can leave here with peace and joy and happiness such as you've never known. You say, 'Well, Billy, that's all well and good. I'll think it over and I may come back some night and I'll——' Wait a minute! You can't come to Christ any time you want to. You can come only when the Spirit of God is drawing and wooing you. . . . I beg of you come now before it is too late. You know you need Christ in your life. Now while the choir sings a hymn, I'm going to ask you to leave your seat and come forward. Every head bowed in prayer and every eye closed. Everyone quietly praying. If you have friends or relatives here, they'll wait on you. Whether you're old or young, rich or poor, white or colored, come quietly up now and say, 'Billy, tonight I accept Christ.' Come on."

The choir, following the gestures of Cliff Barrows, softly begins to sing, "Come every soul by sin oppressed there's mercy with the Lord. . . ." And slowly by ones and twos and then in groups of six, eight, or ten, the converts walk down the aisles. Graham stands in the pulpit, a serious,

almost grim look on his face, as he scans the congregation intently. "That's right; come right on down here. We're going to give you a word of instruction and prayer and talk with you for a moment in the inquiry room. We won't keep you long. The spirit of God is moving here tonight. I can feel it. You come right now. Just get up out of your seat, right now, and come quickly. Hundreds of you from way back up there. You folks in the balcony, you in the mezzanine, come right on down, reverently and quietly. You say, it's a long way. Yes, but Christ went a long way to the cross for you. Certainly you can come a few feet to give your life for Him. We'll wait on you. Many people are already on the way."

As each person makes his way forward, one of the trained counselors who have been scattered in seats throughout the audience gets up and walks down beside him. The counselors wear little white or red badges, but to the onlooker it is difficult to tell the counselor from the convert. The fact that 50 per cent of those standing in front of the platform after the invitation are counselors is sometimes lost on the reporters as well.

As the choir pauses between verses, Graham makes another plea. "Come on . . . we're waitin' on you. Don't you want to be born again? You come now." Sometimes he adds a warning. "This may be your last chance. The spirit of God may never be so near to you again. You may be hit by an automobile on your way home tonight. Then it will be too late. You come now." The choir begins again, this time with the song, "Only trust him, only trust him, he will save you now. . . ." A new flood of converts and counselors comes down the aisles. Graham waits, tense but restrained, occasionally biting his thumb or pressing one hand over his eyes to pray. His voice is calm but strong and urgent. He never becomes excited or violent at this juncture. This is the moment in small town revivals when the excitement begins to burst the bounds of normal behavior and people begin to shout or faint. But Graham keeps the meeting

firmly in hand and the well-behaved audience knows exactly what is expected of it.

Occasionally Graham's invitation contains an appeal to prestige as well as to eternal life. "I'm going to ask you to do something that I've seen people do all over the world," he began one invitation in New York. "I've seen the Congressman, the governor, the film star. I've seen lords and ladies. I've seen professors. . . ." And then follows the invitation to come forward. It is little wonder that some of the converts describe their feelings at walking forward under the eyes of twenty thousand people by saying, "I felt proud and wonderful as I walked down the aisle."³ Graham also makes no distinction between inviting persons to come forward who are nonbelievers and those who are already church members in good standing. In fact, he expressly says, "You may be a deacon or an elder. I don't know. You may be a Sunday school teacher. You may be a choir member. You may be an usher, but you need Christ tonight."⁴

After five, ten, or fifteen minutes of urgent pleading, when the flow of converts dwindles to a halt, the choir stops singing. Graham takes a last look around the arena for stragglers, and then leads the audience in prayer for those who "have given their hearts to Christ tonight." The congregation is dismissed as the trail-hitters are led out a door near the platform and into the inquiry room. The counselors, who have been at their sides since they left their seats, usher them to chairs in the inquiry room, introduce themselves, and then sit waiting for Graham or one of his associate evangelists to come and lead them in a word of dedication and instruction in regard to the momentous decision they have made. Then each counselor begins a series of questions with his particular inquirer:

"Now, Mr. Smith, can you tell me just why you came forward tonight?"

"I wanted to make a decision for Christ as Billy Graham said."

"Do you know what it means to make such a decision?"

"Well, I guess it means that I have not lived the way I should and I want to try to do better."

"It means that you must confess your sins, turn from your sins, and follow Christ." The counselor then patiently explains the fundamentalist terminology and interpretation of salvation. He quotes from his Bible to prove that although all men are sinners Christ came to seek and save that which is lost.⁵ If the convert is puzzled or is not sure that he is worthy of salvation he is asked to read aloud certain passages from the Bible. "Do you believe what you have just read there? That all men are sinners; all have fallen short of the glory of God and deserve eternal punishment? That Christ died for your sins?"

"Why, yes."

"Do you repent your sins? Are you willing to give up your sins and to accept Jesus Christ as your Lord and Master? Are you ready to serve and obey Him in all things?" Questions may then follow about personal sins which must be confessed and repented. "Nothing must stand between you and God. You must surrender yourself completely." Sometimes there are tears and sobs as an inquirer relieves his pent-up emotion by lamenting past transgressions and expressing gratitude for being able to cast all such burdens upon Christ. The counselor and the convert kneel beside their chairs and pray for forgiveness, assurance, and the strength to continue in the right path.

Meanwhile, all around the large room other pairs engage in the same quiet and serious talk. After the counselor receives the final assent and confession of faith from the convert, he then gives him a packet of Christian literature prepared by the Graham follow-up experts. This contains a copy of the Gospel of John, a form letter from Graham, two Bible memorization lessons, a list of instructions, and a business reply envelope addressed to the crusade headquarters. The form letter from Graham informs the new convert that "in order for you to grow in your Christian life it is necessary for you to . . . 1. Read your Bible daily. . . . 2. Pray

every day. . . . 3. Witness for Christ. . . . 4. Attend church regularly. . . .” The instruction sheet explains: “After you have 1. Read the letter from Mr. Graham; 2. Memorized John 3:16; 3. Filled in the answers to the questions in Lesson I in your own words . . . then 1. Mail your completed Lesson I in to the Crusade headquarters in the envelope provided. 2. Write in the answers on Lesson II while you are waiting for the next helpful Bible study from the Crusade headquarters. 3. Keep Lesson II in your possession. Further instructions will follow.”

The counselor then fills out a decision card with the convert's name, address, age, occupation, telephone number, church and pastoral preference, and the type of decision. (There are five possible types of decision listed on the card, though the distinctions between them are vague: Acceptance of Christ as Saviour and Lord; Assurance of Salvation; Restoration; Dedication; Reaffirmation of Faith. The first is called a “first decision” which means that the inquirer has never before had a conversion experience. The others are various forms of reconsecration.) The counselor turns this card into the follow-up office where it is kept on file to enable the office to send further instructions to the convert and to send a notice to the proper pastor to visit the convert as soon as possible. A copy of the decision card is also sent to Graham's Minneapolis headquarters.

The last step in the conversion process at the meeting is for the counselor to take the convert to one of the “advisors” who are scattered throughout the inquiry room. The advisors are usually ministers or members of Graham's team who supervise the counseling. If a counselor has difficulty explaining salvation to someone who has come forward, he calls an advisor for assistance. All converts are brought to an advisor to make their first statement of testimony. “This is Mr. Smith,” the counselor says, presenting his convert to the advisor. “He has just made his decision for Christ.” “How do you do, Mr. Smith,” says the advisor. “Can you tell me in your own words what this decision means to you?”

"It means," says Mr. Smith, if he has been properly instructed, "that I have given myself to Christ; that I have repented of my sins and accept Him as Lord and Saviour, and that with His help I will dedicate my life to Him." The advisor may then congratulate him and welcome him into the fellowship of born-again Christians or may quiz him further. He also advises him to join a church as soon as possible in order to obtain the counsel of a pastor and the fellowship of other Christians who will aid him in keeping the faith and give him opportunities to demonstrate his dedication to Christ by working for His church.⁶

Graham, like Sunday and Moody, has reduced revivalism to such a science that there is never a night when scores of converts do not come forward. Usually several hundred persons make decisions each night of the crusade. At the ninety-six meetings in the New York crusades there was an average of 580 decisions each night. In a short crusade, like that in Houston, the average was 207. Total decisions for any crusade have seldom been less than 5000 since 1950 and the largest campaigns have produced 30,000 to 50,000 over a three or four month period. To all outward appearances there is seldom any doubt that a Graham revival has succeeded. He and his team have done what they said they would do. They have taken over a whole city and its surrounding area and saturated it with news about revivalism. They have stirred up thousands of church members to take a new interest in religion. They have made nonbelievers talk about religion. And above all, they have produced concrete evidence in the form of converts and decision cards to show that they have improved the position of evangelical Protestantism in that city. To this extent they have produced what is commonly called a revival. But does it last?

According to the customs and traditions of professional mass evangelism Graham is not personally responsible for seeing that all those who make a decision for Christ in his crusades join a church. That is the job of the local pastors. But Graham tries his best to help. "We are doing all in

our power," he says, "to keep those that fall away at a minimum through an extensive follow-up system." The first step in the system is to send each convert "a personal-looking letter" from Billy Graham within thirty-six hours after he makes his decision in the inquiry room. The convert is urged to join the church of his choice as soon as possible and to fill out and return the Bible Lesson I given to him in the inquiry room. At the same time a copy of the decision card is sent to the minister designated on the card, or, if the convert has not listed a preference for a specific church which he would like to join, his card is sent to the cooperating minister whose church is nearest his home. The minister is asked to visit the new convert at once and to fill out and return a printed form describing what steps the convert is taking or intends to take to implement his decision. If the minister does not return this form within a week, he receives another letter warning him that if he does not act at once the new convert's name will be passed on to another nearby pastor. In addition to these and subsequent letters urging the converts and pastors to action, the Graham follow-up process tries to make the counselor who helped the convert in the inquiry room feel responsible for keeping in touch with this "Babe in Christ" until he is safely in some church.

Several old-fashioned fundamentalist leaders have criticized Graham on the ground that persons converted at his meetings often end up joining a modernist or liberal church.⁷ Graham does not deny it, but he tries to discourage it. In his sermons, many of which are directed to new converts, Graham urges those who have made the decisions to join "a Bible-believing, Christ-honoring church" right away. There is no doubt that by these terms Graham means a church whose minister preaches the five points of fundamentalism.

Special classes for new converts are conducted each Monday through Friday evening at the tabernacle or auditorium an hour before the service. At these meetings a member of the Graham team explains the process of "growing in Christ." All converts are notified of these meetings

and are told, "Be sure to bring your Bible, notebook, and a pencil. Seats in the main auditorium [for Graham's preaching service] will be reserved for all those attending these classes. No one can afford to miss the benefit of this warm-hearted fellowship and instruction."

The Graham team keeps detailed statistics on the new converts and does not hesitate to make these available. Charts have been made for most of Graham's crusades which list night by night the number of men and of women who made decisions, what age groups they fall in, which sex predominates in each age group, the percentage of those who listed a specific church preference, the percentage which listed only a denominational preference, the percentage which had no preference, the percentage of "first decisions" and the percentage of decisions made by persons who were already church members and regular churchgoers. These charts reveal the following facts about Graham's converts: over 60 per cent of them are women; roughly 45 per cent are under eighteen and about 20 per cent are in the age group from nineteen to twenty-nine; almost 90 per cent know what specific church (not just what denomination) they wish to join; 65 to 75 per cent are already church members, and about 65 per cent are already faithful in their church attendance. (In some cities the number of decisions made by children and adolescents under eighteen has been as high as 60 per cent of the total.)⁸

It is surprising that according to these official statistics only 45 per cent of the decisions made in each crusade are "first decisions" (that is conversions or regenerations). If these statistics are correct they signify that 55 per cent of Graham's trail-hitters are not only active, faithful church members, but they are "born-again," "Bible-believing" church members who simply "rededicate" their lives to Christ. This seems to indicate a high proportion of wasted effort. The following statistics obtained from the charts furnished by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association give the breakdown of decisions for four of Graham's typical crusades:

<i>City</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Decisions *</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Aged 5-18</i>	<i>Aged 19-29</i>
Detroit . .	1953	4954	38%	62%	45%	20%
Nashville . .	1954	6868	40	60	47	25
New Orleans .	1954	4431	36	64	39	21
Oklahoma City . .	1956	2204	41	59	61	22
	<i>First Decision</i>	<i>Church Members</i>	<i>Attend Regularly</i>	<i>Gave Specific Church Preference</i>		
Detroit . .	58%	—	—	87%		
Nashville . .	32	68%	60%	95		
New Orleans .	42	68	60	—		
Oklahoma City . .	43	—	80	94		

* N.B. These statistics do not include decisions made at special "rededication services" for church members nor those made at "children's services."

Graham has admitted that his statistics show a high percentage of decisions made by persons who are already church members, but he explains this by saying, "Most of these are people who have their names on a church roll but are not faithful and loyal in the church, who probably attend church only rarely and who have lost their interest in spiritual matters. To bring back one of these people is just as important as to get an outsider to Christ."⁹ But the statistics are compiled from the decision cards and each decision card has a place on it which reads: "(Attend Regularly) Yes___ No___."¹⁰ The counselors are instructed that to check "Yes" means that the inquirer is a regular and faithful attendant at the local church which he lists as his specific preference. Consequently the statistics compiled from these cards (showing that 65 per cent have indicated that they attend church regularly) seem to refute Graham's assumption that those who make decisions at his crusades are people who "probably attend church only rarely."

The descriptions of Graham's meetings in newspapers and magazines contain much evidence to substantiate the above statistics. Nevertheless many of the ministers who support Graham's revivals do so specifically because they

think that he will "reach the masses"—the people in the cities whom the churches are not able to reach. And Graham insists that he does reach them. Of the New York crusade he said, "it took in the whole gamut of social life in New York. We had the extremely wealthy, we had some of New York's top social names there night after night, and we had hundreds and thousands of people from the slum areas."¹¹ But almost every reporter who has described the crowds which attended the New York crusade, and every other crusade, has described them as being made up primarily of middle-class, neatly dressed, respectable, well-behaved people who sang the hymns as though they were familiar with them and who carried their Bibles. The audience at Madison Square Garden, said one reporter, was made up of "people who would have been just as much at home at a PTA meeting in Scarsdale or Oyster Bay. There was a good, clean, solid look to those in the seats and those who came forward to repent."¹² A Salvation Army captain in the New York inquiry room said that he scarcely ever saw a "Bowery bum" at the meetings: "It's too far to come; besides, they would feel out of place among those nicely dressed people."¹³ Graham went to the Bowery to hold a meeting, but the Bowery derelicts did not come to his services.

Even Graham's former associate and constant booster, Carl F. H. Henry, editor of *Christianity Today*, summed up Graham's impact on New York by saying, "Admittedly there are few signs that Graham's meetings significantly affected the worlds of business and labor. . . . The campaign did reach the comfortable middle class, as one could tell from its nightly dress; the extreme poor and the rich were seldom present."¹⁴ The same was true of crusades elsewhere. The crowd in Pittsburgh was described in the *Pittsburgh Press*: "The women dress in current fashion. Most of the men wear business suits. Many display lodge buttons in their lapels and not a few have fraternity pins. The younger set leans toward sport clothes. . . . Many have returned the second, third, and fourth nights to hear him."¹⁵ In Wash-

ington, D.C., Graham asked all those who were carrying their Bibles with them to the meetings to raise them in the air. The reporter from the *Washington Post* noted, "nearly the whole congregation responded."¹⁶ Those who came forward in Glasgow, Scotland, at the end of Graham's sermons to accept Christ were described as follows: "They are for the most part women, with mother-and-daughter combinations numerous among them, but there were men too, most of them with their wives. Men unaccompanied by women were fewer. . . . There were no workingmen to be seen among the converts. In Glasgow, a workingman dresses differently from a clerk. These were all white-collar people."¹⁷

The *Christian Century* described the New York crowds as "a pleasant, earnest group of Bible-and-binocular toting church folk" and ascribed the lack of interest in the meetings by the newspapers to the fact that "The meetings take on largely the character of rallies" and are "much like very, very large Sunday morning services repeated nightly for Christians."¹⁸ This same writer for the *Christian Century* also noted that most of the converts came "from the reserved seats. Many of them carried Bibles. They seemed to be responding unemotionally as if they were proceeding to the Lord's table of a Sunday morning." But while they were obviously churchgoers, the correspondent noted that many of them checked "Acceptance of Christ as Saviour and Lord" on the decision card instead of "Reaffirmation."

Early in the New York crusade Graham reported that "about sixty per cent" of those who had come forward in New York were not church members and were "coming for the first time" to Christ. "This percentage is the highest of any crusade," he said.¹⁹ But the *Christian Century* said of the first night's inquirers, "Of forty queried by our correspondent, only two were not already church members."²⁰ And *Life* reported after Graham had preached thirty-seven nights in New York: "The great bulk of Billy's hearers have been church members already. Of the New York area's six million non-church-goers, about one in 40 has actually

gone to the Garden. A *Life* spot-check shows that of the 21,000 who have come forward at Billy's invitation to make 'decisions for Christ'—to become wholly and actively Christian—four-fifths belong to a church."²¹

Cooperating ministers try to put a good face on the matter by saying they are gratified to see their old church members instilled with new fervor. But it must be some disappointment to them when they receive their share of the decisions cards each week to find how many of them are signed by their most faithful church members. A spot-check of 127 Minister's Follow-up Reports from fifty-five churches received by the Graham headquarters in New York during the campaign provided the following statistics (these reports represent the results of a ministerial call upon the convert shortly after he had made his decision):

Attendance:

Was already attending regularly	104
Has now begun attending	4
Expects to begin attending	4
Does not expect to attend	1
(Not checked)	14
	<hr/>
	127

Membership:

Was already a member	88
Has now become a member	1
Intends to become a member	20
Apparently does not expect to become a member	2
(Not checked)	16
	<hr/>
	127

In short, only one trail-hitter out of 127 joined a church at once. Twenty indicated that they intended to join. One hundred and six out of 127 were either members already or were uninterested in joining. Assuming that all of those in this sample who said they intended to join did join eventually, it could be said that 17 per cent of those who came forward in New York were additions to the churches. That would mean 6,950 new members out of 56,567 decisions.²²

That this represents a somewhat optimistic estimate can

be seen by the analysis of the Minister's Follow-up Reports for the Toronto crusade of 1955. These statistics were compiled by the local follow-up committee four months after the close of the crusade and were turned over to the Minneapolis office. A total of 8161 decisions were officially recorded in the Toronto inquiry room (including 531 decisions made at a children's rally and 654 at a dedication service). Sixty-two of these requested that no church follow-up be made. Ministerial reports were made on 4960 of the decisions:

Attendance:	
Already attending	3572
Now begun attending	339
Intend to begin attending	281
Do not intend to attend	178
(Not checked)	590
	<hr/> 4960
Membership:	
Already members	2246
Now have become members	102
Intend to become members	800
Do not intend to join	242
(Not checked)	1570
	<hr/> 4960

Of those checked for church attendance, 82 per cent were regularly attending at the time they made decisions. Of those checked for membership, 66 per cent were already members. The cooperating churches of Toronto received 102 new members and the promise, as yet unfulfilled four months later, of 800 more.

A similar report was made of Graham's Seattle campaign in 1951. Three months after Graham left Seattle, Professor Arthur L. Frederick of the College of Puget Sound interviewed 230 of the 234 pastors in the city who had a telephone. Graham's team had reported 6254 decisions for the six-week crusade. But only 3349 cards were received by the 230 churches in Seattle; the remainder were evidently sent to out-of-town pastors designated by out-of-town trail-hitters. Of the 3349 cards, 1155 were signed by children

under fourteen and only 1244 were "first decisions." Only 80 out of the 230 Seattle churches received any new members and only 534 new members were reported since the campaign. Because over 100 of these 534 new additions went to a single Presbyterian church, this meant that the average for the other 79 churches was about 5 new members apiece. (Incidentally, only 81 of the 230 churches which Frederick interviewed actively supported the crusade and 36 of these received no new members.)

Frederick also asked the 230 pastors how they felt about the general effect of the campaign upon the city's religious life. Ninety-one of the ministers thought the effects were "negligible, poor, or detrimental;" 45 ministers said the effects were "fair" or "very slight;" and 60 ministers said the effects were "good" or "excellent." While these findings were challenged by Graham's supporters, they correspond to investigations made elsewhere.²³

The Rev. Charles Farrah, a member of the San Francisco "follow-up" committee, gathered data for six months on the 26,689 decisions registered in Graham's 1958 "Bay Area" crusade. He reported that 60 per cent of the decision cards were signed by "students," 19 per cent by "white collar workers and manual laborers," 15 per cent by housewives, and 4 per cent by business and professional men. According to a report in *United Evangelical Action*, in March, 1959, "Dr. Farrah said his committee concluded that the Cow Palace Crusade had stirred up the faithful and backsliders but had only a negligible impact on those with no prior church affiliation."

Various unofficial polls and surveys concerning the influence of Graham's revivals upon church membership and church attendance have been made in London, Glasgow, and New York. On the whole these bear out the view that Graham has not produced any great upsurge in religious interest among the nonchurchgoing public—certainly not to the extent that could be called a "sweeping" revival. A comparison of these unofficials polls with the highly publicized official statistics indicates the difficulty of making an accurate assessment of Graham's work. For example, ac-

according to Lorne Sanny, Graham's director of follow-up work, the official results of the London crusade in 1954 were as follows: there were 34,661 decisions made during the twelve-week period; 2500 cooperating ministers turned in follow-up reports on 23,595 of these; one year after the campaign 20,350 of those who made decisions were "still attending church."²⁴ (At the time the London crusade concluded, the official statistics listed 38,447 "decisions" but apparently cards were not obtained for all of these.) Although it was officially admitted that 40 per cent of those who made decisions in London were already church members, the implication left by Sanny's follow-up statistics was that the 20,350 churchgoers "still attending" were all the product of the Graham crusade and that they represented a net gain to the cooperating churches.

In stark contrast to these official statistics was a survey made by the *London Evening Standard* seven months after the crusade concluded. A reporter for the *Evening Standard* interviewed the ministers of twenty of the largest parishes of the Church of England in London. These ministers had received a total of 336 cards from Graham's committee. They told the *Evening Standard* that 226 of these cards (or 67 per cent) were signed by persons already members or regular churchgoers of their churches. Of the 110 who were not members or churchgoers, only 35 were still attending church seven months after Graham's departure. Applying this sample to the figure 36,000 (which was another "official" total for the London crusade) the *Evening Standard* concluded that only 4000 of Graham's decisions represented a worthwhile gain to the churches.²⁵

These figures were challenged by the *British Weekly*, a nondenominational "Christian" paper which, under the editorship of Shaun Herron, had staunchly supported Graham's London crusade. Herron sent out 1500 questionnaires concerning Graham's results to 1500 ministers of all denominations in and around London. He received replies from 520 of them. Of these, 144 indicated that they had received "no converts" and Herron therefore did not include them in his further calculations. He also discarded 42 replies

which were incomplete or otherwise unusable. The 334 remaining replies came from ministers who had received a total of 3222 cards representing decisions made at Graham's meetings. Out of this total, the reports indicated that 1657 (or 51 per cent) were already churchgoers. The remaining 1565 Herron called "outsiders" although he stated that "more than half of these" were people "who came to church 'spasmodically' or 'irregularly'" or who were members of Sunday schools and young people's church groups. (Herron's figures showed that 60 per cent of the 3222 cards were signed by children between ten and nineteen years old.) In other words, more than half of these "outsiders" had had "some connexion with churches or church organizations" prior to Graham's campaign. But the point Herron was stressing was that 1002 (or 64 per cent) of these so-called "outsiders" were now attending church regularly nine months after the crusade ended. This he considered a significant achievement.

Herron's statistics also provided illuminating information concerning the proportion of the decisions which were made by persons sympathetic to the liberal Protestant churches and the proportion made by persons sympathetic to the fundamentalist (or holiness and pentecostal) churches. The following preferences were expressed on the 3222 cards examined by Herron (they do not, however, show which specific churches within the regular denominations the converts preferred and it is probable that they chose the more fundamentalistically inclined of these):

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number of Churches</i>	<i>Number of Cards</i>
Anglican	110	1198
Baptist	90	902
Methodist	48	486
Evangelical	41	373
Congregational	25	111
Mission halls and unidentified	9	73
Pentecostal	7	55
Presbyterian	4	24

The problem with Herron's poll and with that of the *Evening Standard* was that neither of them indicated how many of the outsiders who were now attending church had actually joined the church they were attending. There are still no figures available on this point and probably never will be. It may be a fair guess, however, that out of the 38,447 trail-hitters in London not more than 2000 were added to the church rolls.

The analysis of the results of Graham's impact on Glasgow in March–April, 1955, was slightly more helpful on this point. This analysis came about as a result of the censuses of the church membership and church attendance in the city made by Dr. John Highet, Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Glasgow. One of these surveys was made the year before Graham came to Glasgow, one was made a month after his crusade concluded, and the third, a year later. Highet had no connection with either Graham or his supporters, nor was his work specifically designed to evaluate Graham's results. It was simply an objective survey or census of the church life of the city.²⁶

Highet's statistics dealt with the seven denominations which contained 98 per cent of the Protestant church members of the city. In these denominations the church members in May, 1954, totalled 203,430. A year later (one month after Graham's crusade ended) Highet's second census showed that the membership in these same seven denominations had decreased by 1395 to 202,305. But when he made his third survey, in 1956, the membership in these denominations had risen to 207,232. It seemed fair to say, therefore, that Graham should be given some credit for reversing a downward trend and for the fact that 3802 persons had joined the Glasgow churches between May, 1954 and May, 1956. But it was difficult to assess precisely how much credit should go to Graham.

Highet's surveys on church attendance for these same denominations showed a somewhat different picture. Church attendance in Glasgow increased from 54,503 in May, 1954, to 67,078 in May, 1955, one month after Gra-

ham's crusade. (This total represented the average number of persons attending the Sunday morning services on three successive Sundays.) But the third survey showed that church attendance had then declined to 62,224 in the year following Graham's crusade. Although there was a net increase in attendance of 5721 over the two-year period, it might seem that Graham had merely provided a temporary stimulation in attendance which would soon return to its former level. Graham had officially claimed 52,253 decisions from his crusade in Scotland (19,835 of these obtained during his six weeks in Glasgow's Kelvin Hall.) Even if he were given full credit for all the gains noted in Highet's censuses, it would mean that only 7 per cent of this total had joined a church and only 11 per cent had begun attending church regularly. Inasmuch as the Scottish churches had already embarked upon an ambitious evangelistic crusade of their own before Graham came to Glasgow, and inasmuch as they continued it after he left, it would hardly be fair to give him all the credit for the improved condition of the churches, whether it be considered impressive or not.

These statistical analyses of Graham's impact on London and Glasgow can be supplemented by the comments of three well-informed observers of British Protestantism. The Rev. Donald Soper, the foremost spokesman of British Methodism, stated six months after Graham's revival in London, Graham "has caused no religious revival. His audiences have been almost exclusively church people or near-church people. He has not touched the outsider."²⁷ Cecil Northcott, the London correspondent of the *Christian Century* wrote an article entitled "Four Years After Billy Graham" for the *British Weekly* in which he asked, "Did Graham 'break through' to the unchurched, the nonreligious" in Britain? "The answer," he said, "by and large is 'no.'"²⁸ And Denis Duncan, who succeeded Shaun Herron as editor of the *British Weekly*, summed up his estimate of Graham in April, 1958, with these words "With regard to the 'lasting effects' of the London Crusade, the position appears to be

this (and it is equally true of the later Glasgow Crusade): The main impact was among already sympathetic church members. The effect outside the church, speaking generally, appears to have been very little indeed in terms of figures.”²⁹

The first survey of the result of Graham's New York crusade was made five months afterward, in January, 1958, by George Dugan of the *New York Times*. Dugan sent a questionnaire to 504 Protestant ministers in the New York area and received 159 replies. The front-page story on the replies was headlined, “Graham Impact Held Fleeting As Ministers Appraise Crusade.” The 159 ministers had received a total of 3997 decision cards from the Graham committee. About 64 per cent, or 2552 of these, were already members of their churches. Of the remaining 36 per cent, most of them failed to join or even to attend regularly the church they had designated on their decision cards. Dugan's survey also revealed that Graham “made the least impact on mission churches in underprivileged areas.” In fact, one minister who works predominantly with juvenile delinquents in the Greenwich Village area stated that Graham's revivalism had “set back the Christian cause by several years.” Dugan's conclusion was that other than giving a temporary “spiritual lift” to the churches of New York, the crusade “had little lasting impact on the city.”³⁰

On the whole the evidence everywhere led to the same conclusion. Like the urban mass revivals of former days by Moody and Sunday, by Sam Jones and J. Wilbur Chapman, by Reuben A. Torrey and Gypsy Smith, Graham's crusades seemed capable of influencing only those already committed to his religious outlook. They reached a few backsliders, a few occasional churchgoers, a large number of youngsters in Sunday schools who were already on the way to church membership, and a few unhappy people who came in search of an answer to their personal problems. But their impact upon the community at large was superficial and ephemeral. Graham claims that his revivals make

whole cities "God-conscious" but it seems more accurate to say that they do little more than make people "Graham-conscious."

Many of the critics of Graham's revivalism claim that the reason his impact is so fleeting is that he takes no interest in anything but converting souls. His viewpoint is so other-worldly that it loses contact with the realities of this world. Graham, they say, has an unquestionable talent and sincerity and he has organized a magnificent religious machine, but he has harnessed himself and his machine to the perfectionist view of world evangelism. In the vain hope of converting the whole world to his brand of fundamentalism he is pouring a vast amount of time, energy, and money into a streamlined treadmill. He employs misleading statistics, say these critics, to try to convince people that he is accomplishing the impossible.

But the fault does not lie entirely with Graham. Like all professional revivalists since Moody's day, Graham is a businessman. He frankly compares revivalism to selling. His product is not only personal salvation to individual sinners and redemption to the nation, but it is revitalization to the institutional structure of Protestantism. Like all big businessmen, Graham and his corporation tailor their product, as much as they feel they honestly can, to meet the demands of the market. If this influences his theological and social message in the direction of ambiguity and chauvinism, it influences his revival organization and techniques in the direction of statistics and self-advertising. It almost seems that the more vague his message becomes the more concrete his organization tries to make its results appear. This is not, as the critics maintain, simple proof of the evangelist's egoism or showmanship. In part it is in the very nature of itinerant, urban, mass revivalism. But equally important, and too often forgotten, is the fact that the ministers and laymen who turn to Graham for help are themselves responsible for this emphasis upon statistics and publicity. They want it. In fact, they demand it. Wealthy laymen will not invest their time and money in a selling campaign without

concrete evidence that the enterprise stands a chance of success. Ministers will not commit themselves and their members to a revival unless they feel certain they can reap some fruits. Trail-hitting totals, decision cards, follow-up letters, the myriads of charts, forms, and figures played up in ministers' meetings and headlined in the newspapers are the concrete evidence that Graham has fulfilled his contract. If ministers find these figures inflated and the results insubstantial they might remember that they have themselves helped design the package they bought.

Graham's revivalism long ago became top-heavy with organization. Now, as his decline begins, the burden of keeping the machine running is putting undue emphasis upon publicity and fund raising. And yet to retrench or curtail activities is to yield ground to Satan and his host. In the near future the strain of keeping the Graham organization functioning may well cause the same tensions under which Billy Sunday's revivalism finally collapsed. There is evidence that evangelism for evangelism's sake is leading to commercialism for evangelism's sake.

The question of a nationwide, commercially sponsored television program, for example, has long tantalized Graham. He is convinced that he can and must use this new medium of mass communication. "We have a greater opportunity than Paul ever had. I imagine that if Paul can look down here he is champing at the bit. How he would like to be on television!"³¹ In March, 1955, the *New York Times* reported that Graham would probably soon accept an offer to appear on a sponsored television program similar to those of Bishop Sheen and Norman Vincent Peale.³² Nothing came of this plan and Graham's staff later denied that he had even for a moment seriously contemplated appearing on a commercial program. Then in May, 1957, the *New York Times* printed an interview with Graham indicating that he was again thinking about a television program of such lavish proportions that it would require commercial sponsorship: "I have an idea for a certain program, although some of my associates disagree with me. It would be a

religious extravaganza. I would have someone like Fred Waring's orchestra and glee club playing and singing old religious hymns. Then a five- to eight-minute skit emphasizing a moral or spiritual truth. And then an interview with a famous person such as Roy Rogers or Vice-President Nixon who would tell of his spiritual experience. This would be followed by a five-minute sermon. The program would be produced on the same scale as a major entertainment show." Graham realized, he said, that "such a program would require the backing of a big company interested in institutional advertising rather than the 'hard sell'" but he insisted that "Television is the greatest method the church has ever known for getting over its message" and should be used to its fullest extent.³³ So far this program has not gone beyond Graham's imagination, but it is characteristic of the evangelistic outlook which one critic of Graham's methods described as "this strange new junction of Madison Avenue and the Bible Belt" in which "the Holy Spirit is not overworked; he is overlooked."³⁴

The charge of commercialism has been so far principally directed against Graham's employing the Walter F. Bennett Advertising Agency to assist him in publicizing his crusades and in directing his television and radio work. No statement has ever been made of the profits made by the Bennett company from the sizeable commissions it makes from the networks and elsewhere as Graham's official agent. But there are several other aspects of Graham's multimillion dollar revival business which show signs of adopting a Madison Avenue approach, albeit on a nonprofit basis.

The "Hour of Decision" radio program, for example, has become increasingly insistent in its weekly pleas for financial gifts from its twenty million regular listeners. Cliff Barrows, the master of ceremonies for the program concludes every broadcast with the words: "We invite you to send your free will gifts and offerings for the support of this program to Billy Graham, Minneapolis, Minnesota—that's all the address you need, just Billy Graham, Minneapolis, Minnesota." Often Graham himself, after concluding his

radio sermon, returns to tell the audience how much "we need to hear from you this week if this program is to continue on the air." From the very outset, Graham made a point of using the traditional solicitation "gimmick" of sending free gifts to all who wrote in after hearing his broadcasts. Free gifts of all sorts are regularly offered to "Hour of Decision" listeners and Graham himself urges them to send for these "unique" mementoes. Among the gifts which have been offered are "a little gold lapel cross," "a square record" (sometimes these records have been called "the picture that plays"), a calendar containing pictures of the team, a clip to put on a telephone dial which says "Pray for the Billy Graham New York Crusade," a gospel song book, sheet music for one of Bey Shea's solos, a wall plaque made of "rustic plastic" which reads "Divine service will be conducted here daily," a packet of Bible verses, reprints of various magazine articles describing Graham's latest crusade, a "Christian Life Guide," and copies of Graham's radio sermons. No donation is required to obtain these free gift offers, but the obligation is implicit and with each gift comes a business reply envelope with a blank check and a pledge. Those who write in are added to the mailing list for future solicitations.

As part of the attempt to publicize Graham's work, Cliff Barrows and Jerry Beavan make a point of informing the radio audience whenever a new interview or feature story concerning Graham appears. The listeners are urged to go to their newsstands and obtain this month's or this week's copy of *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek*, *American Mercury*, *Look*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Reader's Digest*, or any of a host of other magazines which have written about Graham. (But of course no articles which might be considered uncomplimentary toward Graham, such as Reinhold Niebuhr's articles in the *Christian Century*, are mentioned.)

Graham has been particularly eager to have his readers subscribe to the new magazine *Christianity Today*. This is a neofundamentalist fortnightly edited by Graham's friend

Carl F. H. Henry, formerly of Fuller Theological Seminary. Graham's father-in-law, L. Nelson Bell, serves as Executive Editor and Graham is listed as a Contributing Editor.³⁵ A copy of the first issue of this magazine was offered free to all "Hour of Decision" listeners in October, 1956, and since that time Graham has sent three letters to those on the mailing list of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association asking them to subscribe to it. In one of these letters he urged, "Every Christian who wants to be informed on spiritual matters as they relate to this hectic world in which we now live should receive *Christianity Today*. . . . My first article will be 'The Authority of the Bible in Evangelistic Preaching' in the October 5 issue—a message I'd like you to prayerfully read." After describing the magazine in detail, he then added, "I not only ask, but urge you to subscribe to *Christianity Today*," and his last paragraph announced "This 'Special Introductory Offer' is made to the friends of the HOUR OF DECISION Sunday radio broadcasts: 78 issues (3 years) . . . only \$10 (save \$6.25)." He also added a postscript: "P.S. Place your name on the enclosed postage-paid envelope and you will become a charter subscriber to this MUST in Christian journalism."

Graham has also endorsed *Christian Life* magazine and loaned his mailing list to its advertising agency for solicitation purposes. There is nothing unethical in an evangelist's endorsing magazines and urging his followers to subscribe to them, nor is it unethical for Graham to utilize his mailing list to solicit support of Northwestern Schools, as he did in 1951 while he was their president (he praised the institution because "For two generations it has stood for old-fashioned Americanism—the Word of God—Evangelism—Conservatism . . ."). But in the interest of advancing the neofundamentalist cause and the cause of evangelism in general, Graham inevitably becomes bogged down in what seem to be commercial activities.

Perhaps the most blatant of these is the manner in which he advertises the books written by or about himself and the various publications and recordings of the Grason Corpora-

tion. The Grason Corporation is not a non-profit firm, but by an understanding between the interlocking directorates, it arranges to shift its profits to assist the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. The Grason company is actually a mail-order book and record store. Through it anyone may purchase a large variety of items including all the books written by or about Graham, all the records made by Graham's musical associates, the sheet music for songs and arrangements by Graham's musical associates (including Roy Rogers, Stuart Hamblen, and those in his motion pictures like Redd Harper and Cindy Walker), morocco-bound Bibles in various colors with prefaces by Graham, morocco-bound devotional books, Bible dictionaries, concordances, the complete New Testament on records, and various comic books drawn by Graham's staff artist, Robert Blewett, and featuring Bible stories as told by Graham or Barrows. The Grason company does not publish these books or manufacture the records but presumably it pays a profit to the firms which do. Every December those on Graham's mailing list receive Christmas gift suggestions for items which may be purchased through the Grason company, and announcements are made over the "Hour of Decision" reminding listeners that copies of the latest volumes by or about Graham would make excellent presents to friends and relatives. Graham has admitted using the royalties from his books to help purchase a new house and to establish a trust fund for his children. How much, if anything, his friends and associates make from Grason's sales is not disclosed, but undoubtedly sizeable royalties must result from the Graham-stimulated sales through Grason and other channels.

A similar commercial character is involved in the Billy Graham Evangelistic Films Company, now doing business as World Wide Pictures. The films made by this company rent for a fixed fee. They are advertised over the "Hour of Decision," through materials sent out in the mailings from Minneapolis, and in various religious journals. They are often shown free of charge to promote Graham's crusades and other activities (though a collection is usually taken). To

date this company has made no profits, but presumably when it does, and when past indebtedness is paid, these profits like the Grason profits, will be passed on, at least in part, to the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.³⁶

One of the most confusing aspects of Graham's financial arrangements is the way in which the Minneapolis office applies the funds it receives. In 1955 the association reported that its annual budget was \$2,000,000 a year. It has undoubtedly increased considerably since then. There are four principal sources from which the association draws its funds. The most important is the freewill gifts and offerings mailed in by radio and television listeners. In 1958 the association was receiving about 7500 letters each week which contained an average of five dollars apiece. Two-thirds of these were received in the official business reply envelopes used by the association, indicating that they came from regular contributors. This mounted to a total of \$1,960,000 per year. The second source of gifts, but one which George Wilson says is comparatively small, is the gifts from religious foundations and private individuals. The association once received a gift of \$50,000 from a religious foundation but it has not received many such. The third source of income is the profits of the Grason company which presumably are substantial but which Wilson has never disclosed. And the fourth important source is the collections taken "for the 'Hour of Decision'" at all of Graham's crusades.³⁷

In the early years of his evangelism Graham asked the local committees to take one collection during each crusade for his radio ministry. Since the average donation in the collection plate is thirty-five cents per person and the average audience about fifteen thousand, this meant \$5000 for the association from each crusade. But by 1954 Graham was asking that one day's collection each week throughout the crusade should go to the "Hour of Decision." It was usually agreed that the collections on Sunday should meet this purpose. Sunday not only was a day of especially large audiences, but it was the one day in the week when

two meetings were held. Hence, in recent years, the Minneapolis office may well have received about \$10,000 per week from the local citizens of each city in which Graham held campaigns. In addition, the local committees usually have agreed to donate to the Minneapolis office any surplus which might accrue from the collections. Surpluses have reached as high as \$217,618 (in New York City). Some indication of the sizable amounts that came to Minneapolis from the smaller crusades may be seen in examining the audited accounts of the Nashville, Tennessee, crusade in 1953. The total expenses of the crusade amounted to \$75,234.75. The offerings taken for the "Hour of Decision" plus the surplus received from the collections amounted to \$80,497.64. This means that the "Hour of Decision" (or rather the Minneapolis headquarters) received more money from the people of Nashville than was spent to finance Graham's crusade.³⁸ The money raised in New York City for the "Hour of Decision" came to \$223,283.81.³⁹

Under these circumstances, which were repeated elsewhere, it seemed odd for Graham's team to claim that no money was raised locally to pay the salaries of Graham and his leading team members. These salaries are paid by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association and whether they take that money from the funds turned over by the local committees or from one of the other three sources of income it is clear that Graham's revival machine is being supported in large part by local contributions which have no connection with the running expenses of the crusades themselves.

The money which goes to Minneapolis is spent in various ways. Roughly a million and a half dollars per year goes to pay for the "Hour of Decision." Then there are the salaries of Graham, certain key members of the team, and the two hundred employees in Minneapolis. A considerable amount also goes for rent, for printing, for the free gift offers, the overhead, and the six to eight mailings a year at \$20,000 each. Some of the money sent to Minneapolis is specifically earmarked for use in other crusades. For example, the New York crusade committee turned over

\$150,000 of its surplus to the association to be used specifically for paying the cost of televising the meetings in San Francisco. Out of the \$80,000 sent to Minneapolis from Nashville, \$38,000 was set aside to help pay for Graham's 1955 tour of Europe. Large sums raised in Richmond, Virginia, and Louisville, Kentucky, helped to pay for the New York crusade. Eleven thousand dollars raised in the New York crusade went to finance the Charlotte crusade and \$11,000 raised in Charlotte was sent to Australia to aid Graham's revival there. One-quarter of the expenses of the London crusade was contributed by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association from gifts made to it in local crusades.

In short, the Minneapolis headquarters acts as a kind of savings bank or revolving fund for Graham's evangelistic work. Money which comes into it from one undertaking is later withdrawn to finance a new undertaking. In the days when the Graham motion picture company was running at a deficit it was assisted by the association. The association is constantly in the process of building up its funds so as to help Graham promote his crusades in whatever way he and his team think best. The tours of Europe, Asia, the Caribbean, Australia, and Africa would not be possible except by this means. Only a well-organized fund-soliciting and fund-dispensing headquarters can assure Graham the flexibility and support he needs.

Graham's big business corporation is capably and honestly run, but no organization that large can hope to avoid the secularizing tendencies forced upon it by the constant need to publicize its activities and raise money for them. It is the necessity Graham feels to excuse this commercialism which leads him to picture St. Paul as a television preacher, to compare preaching salvation to selling soap, and to "guarantee" to his followers that the more they contribute to evangelistic work the more money they will make and the more successful they will become.

Graham's personal financial honesty is beyond reproach. He does not, as Billy Sunday did, claim that "the laborer is worthy of his hire" and consequently enrich himself. In

1957 he refused to allow his association to raise his salary from \$15,000 to \$20,000. Although he lives comfortably, he does not live lavishly. He owns a comfortable new home and two hundred acres in Montreat, North Carolina. He has a half-interest in a \$25,000 farm given to him and his brother by his father. He carries \$40,000 worth of life insurance for his family and the association carries a \$50,000 policy on him with his wife as beneficiary. He has few expenses outside of his home and has received many expensive gifts from friends and admirers. But he has not made one-tenth of the money he could have made out of his evangelism and has in fact refused to use for himself much of what he has made.⁴⁰

Although two of his books have made over \$100,000 in royalties he spent only \$10,000 of this on himself. He has seldom kept the fees he is paid for newspaper and magazine articles, and has more than tithed his income by giving to religious organizations and charity. There have been reports that he is in difficulty with the Internal Revenue Department over his income taxes, but the difficulty is certainly not one of dishonesty. If there is any trouble it is more likely the result of his confusion in handling large sums which he wishes to give away. Speaking for himself and his wife he asserts, "We intend to leave behind nothing that accrued from my ministry." And he means it.⁴¹ If financial entanglements ever taint the Graham organization it will not be because of Graham's personal greed.

In fact, it seems unlikely that either Graham's commercialism or his inability to produce new church members will in the long run be remembered as the principal failing of his evangelism. The most serious criticisms against his work are along other lines.

Billy Graham: An Estimate

When we come in for the landing in the great airport in heaven, I don't want any broad-mindedness. I want to come in on the beam. . . .

BILLY GRAHAM¹

In 1917 John D. Rockefeller, Jr., summed up his reasons for supporting Billy Sunday's forthcoming New York revival with the statement: "I have felt convinced of Mr. Sunday's sincerity. . . . I became convinced that in spite of all criticism he was doing a very great work. . . . I think Mr. Sunday is a great power for good. I don't think it's any one thing he does or says that counts in particular. It is evident that people are interested and that he gets their attention. And the organization and follow-up work are magnificent. . . . Mr. Sunday is a rallying center around whom all people interested in good things may gather."² John Wanamaker explained his support for Sunday's Philadelphia crusade by saying, "Billy Sunday is no longer an individual only. He is the center of a great Gospel work."³

Much the same things have been said about Billy Graham. E. G. Homrighausen, the Dean of Princeton Theological Seminary, writing in July, 1956, declared, "Graham is a symbol or rallying center for many Protestant Christians

around the world.”⁴ And an editorial in the *Christian Century* noted that “many leading American churchmen are willing to let him represent the whole American church.”⁵

Any estimate of the value and impact of Graham’s revivals must acknowledge that he is something more than a colorful exhorter or a professional evangelist plying his trade. Like the major revivalists of America’s past great awakenings, Graham is “a symbol or rallying center” for forces far beyond his own immediate supporters. He may not be the foremost spokesman of his age, but he is certainly one of its spokesmen. Some of those for whom he speaks are easily identifiable; others are not.

In general it may be said that Graham’s revivals operate on four different levels. In the first place, Graham was, and still is, a spokesman for the newly consolidated and articulate pietistic movement which is challenging the old Protestant church system. Theologically this movement is an amalgamation of the mellowing fundamentalism of the 1920’s and the maturing pentecostalism of a much older date. Whether it is called “the new evangelicalism” or “neofundamentalism,” this theology represents a middle ground between the fanatical or ultrafundamentalist fringe groups (the followers of Carl McIntire, the Holy Rollers, the faith healers, the snake handlers) and the liberalism or modernism that is associated with the major denominations. Ecclesiastically it seems to have found a center in the National Association of Evangelicals. Socially the bulk of its followers are among a lower-middle-class group with predominantly a rural background which is trying to break through to suburban respectability without yielding too much of the religious pietism it cherishes.

At the second level, Graham must now be accepted as one of the spokesmen for organized Protestantism in America. Since 1954 he has won the support not only of the rank and file of the laymen and clergy of the major denominations, but also of many of the leading figures of all theological hues. By endorsing his revivals through their official church groups (particularly through the city federations of

the National Council of Churches), the major Protestant denominations have acknowledged him as one of their titular leaders. (Graham's endorsement by the Archbishop of Canterbury in England and by the Church of Scotland in Scotland has given him a similar stature among British Protestants.) To what extent the churches have accepted his religious views it is still too early to say. But there is no doubt about how desperately they are searching for something to replace the collapsed theological framework which upheld them for the past generation. "Ministers have been discouraged and frustrated," Graham said in discussing the reasons for his New York campaign. "In talking with many of them we found almost a sense of desperation. Ministers who do not agree with us theologically . . . are willing to cooperate simply because there seems to be nothing else in sight for them to reach the conscience of this city."⁶ Graham does not offer the regular churches any radically new theological outlook to fill the vacuum left by the collapse of modernism, but he offers them a new emphasis based upon a few commonly accepted beliefs which are capable of broad interpretations. The whirlwind of organized activity which surrounds his revivalism serves as a temporary substitute for a new theology, and American churchmen have always preferred doing to thinking. No doubt they secretly hope that while they are hard at work evangelizing, the theological crisis will pass and somehow a new theological structure will emerge which will satisfactorily amalgamate Graham's neofundamentalism, Peale's neomodernism, and Niebuhr's neo-orthodoxy. At least something like that has happened in each previous great awakening.

The third level of Graham's revivalism is much broader and less easy to define. It may be summed up by saying that his popularity symbolizes one aspect of the nationwide tension and insecurity which have branded the postwar era as "the Age of Anxiety." This soubriquet does not fit the whole generation by any means; the old optimism and self-confidence are not nearly so shattered as Graham would like to think. Yet there have been sufficiently widespread

areas of malaise in American society during the past decade to provide a sympathetic audience for Graham's exhortations which extends far beyond the range of faithful churchgoers. The current reorientation in theology has been part of a much wider reorientation in American social and intellectual life. The long-prevailing belief held by most Americans that reason and science were forging the means of perpetual progress and that man was inherently good and society ultimately perfectible have sustained such serious blows that a re-evaluation of some sort was essential. Many people have found a great deal of truth in Graham's wide-ranging arraignment of the prevailing order, particularly in regard to America's preoccupation with materialism and success. The affluent society is not yet so flabby as to have lost its conscience. The fabulous pleasures of a consumption- and leisure-oriented society in the midst of a world of poverty and disaster are too incongruous to be ignored. In this respect Graham's revivals provide a means of massive self-flagellation for a guilt-ridden middle class which believes that in a democracy every citizen is directly responsible for the sins of the nation. Many who disagree with Graham's eschatology accept his views on the need for greater personal morality and ascetism and want to "get right with God." Graham's revivals also elicit a national response because in spite of his arraignment of America's immorality he also provides a comforting reaffirmation of the American way of life and of America's "God-appointed mission" to the world.

The fourth dimension of Graham's revivals is their relationship to the international predicament of Christianity. For four centuries Christianity has been expanding around the globe as a counterpart to the aggressive cultural and economic imperialism of Europe and America. But in the past thirty years or more, Catholicism and Protestantism have suffered grievous setbacks at the hands of concomitant waves of communism, anticolonialism, and nationalism. Not only have foreign missions been wiped out or curtailed and native converts backslidden in Asia, Africa, and the

Middle East, but the whole prestige of Christianity has fallen with the rise of "the backward nations." Not only are these nations rising without the benefit of Christianity but they are directly challenging those nations which are Christian. Protestantism has been particularly hard hit in colonial areas because it was more closely associated with nineteenth century capitalist exploitation than Catholicism and because it was less successful at integrating itself into the life of these alien cultures. Moreover it lacked the organizational unity and hierarchical authority to make terms with the rising nationalists, socialists, and communists. Even in Europe Christianity has suffered serious losses to secularism, communism, and anticlerical socialism. And the same lack of unity (plus an intrinsic aversion to direct political action) has made it more difficult for Protestantism than for Catholicism to enter the arena of politics and labor to combat these trends. As a symbol of embattled Christendom Billy Graham may not be the Protestant counterpart of the Pope that *Time* pictures him to be, but he is one of the few Protestant ministers of international reputation whose primary commitment is not to any denomination or creed but to the whole range of Protestantism. In addition, he is an American and his well-publicized friendship with the President, the Vice-President, and the former Secretary of State tends to associate him with the political leadership which the United States exerts in international affairs. Of course in many parts of the world this is as much a detriment as an asset to his evangelism. Nevertheless in their extremity, Protestant ministers and missionaries at home and abroad have accepted Graham as a symbol of the dynamic, aggressive Christianity which they long to see revived.⁷

As a symbol, spokesman, or rallying center of this quadruple reorientation, Graham has stressed a common core of values and beliefs which are traditional, authoritative, and easily grasped. The intellectual meaning of these beliefs may be vague, but their emotional content is very real. Because Western civilization in general, and Protestant countries in particular, are so thoroughly imbued with the

Judeo-Christian tradition imbedded in the Bible, Graham is on firm ground in using it as the source of his message. The clearest notes in his preaching are his emphasis upon the patriarchal authoritarianism and righteous Jehovah of the Old Testament and his assertion of the individualistic aspects of faith, hope, and love in the New. In appealing to "the doctrines of our forefathers" Graham is looking backward rather than forward. His dominant theme is that the only answer to today's problems lies in a return to the old ways, the old faith, the old values—particularly in the United States where he frankly associates Christianity with the Protestant ethic and the American way of life. But if Graham is trying to turn back the clock, he is at any rate sufficiently perceptive not to formulate any clear-cut prescription for this. His popularity, like Billy Sunday's, is not based on "any one thing he does or says" but simply on the conservative trend he represents.

A large measure of Graham's success is due precisely to the ambiguity of his preaching. If he were to become more concrete he would split the broad base of his support. He can remain a symbol of Protestant Christendom only so long as he is regarded simply as "a rallying center around whom all people interested in good things may gather." But there is danger in being all things to all men. He thereby incurs the charge of preaching "bland pietism," perfectionist escapism, and simple obscurantism. He is accused of being too liberal by the fundamentalists and too fundamentalist by the liberals. Some consider him as literalistic as William Jennings Bryan and others think him as mystic as Norman Vincent Peale. His pietistic friends worry that he is putting the church too much into the world while the social gospelers criticize his failure to relate his theology to social reform. Political liberals say he is too conservative and ultraconservatives say he is as far left of center as President Eisenhower's "modern Republicanism."

The theological and political moderates on both sides who cooperate in his campaigns are ready to defend his position and his work, but they sometimes seem to do so apolo-

getically. They emphasize his youth and his sincerity, for example, and suggest that whatever shortcomings he may have he is showing signs of maturing and rising above his background and early training. They say he certainly is a big improvement over Billy Sunday because he does not use acrobatics in the pulpit or collect large freewill offerings. Though some chastened liberals who support Graham express reservations about his lack of social consciousness, they also point out that an evangelist cannot do everything and that it is sufficient that he preaches an evangelical theology and unites the churches in an effort to win souls for Christ. His revivals, it is now admitted, may not reach as many unchurched people as had been hoped, but they are still of great value in instilling new spirit into old church members. And certainly it is commendable, say these moderates, that so many different denominations and theological views are brought together to cooperate in his campaigns. The campaigns may be expensive and may make excessive use of commercial advertising techniques, but Graham is attracting more attention to Protestantism in the cities than has been seen in decades. Would any Christian deny, his defenders ask, that even if only one soul is saved it is worth all the effort?

Above all, Graham is praised for bringing Protestantism back to some of the old Biblical truths that have been neglected too long. He is emphasizing the doctrines of sin and repentance and redemption which modernism, to its shame, forgot or undervalued. In sum, whatever Graham's faults, and they admittedly exist even for his admirers, he is felt to be doing good; his heart is in the right place and his theology is headed in the right direction. In this time of crisis, his supporters conclude, carping criticism is out of place. Let the churches be thankful that someone is stirring the dry bones and let every servant of the church put his shoulder to the wheel to help Graham's revivals along.

Some Protestant spokesmen whose views are far removed from Graham's, like John C. Bennett of Union Theological

Seminary, John A. MacKay and E. G. Homrighausen of Princeton Theological Seminary, and Ralph Lord Roy, author of *Apostles of Discord*, have publicly expressed a certain respect and sympathy for Graham and his work. And for all his criticism of Graham, Reinhold Niebuhr has declared that "This handsome, youthful, modest, and obviously sincere evangelist is better than any evangelist of his kind in American history."⁸

At heart, however, Graham is still a fundamentalist of the old school. The spirit which animates his preaching and provides the driving force behind his career is that of traditional American pietism. His strength comes from his profound dissatisfaction with the prevailing order and his deep conviction of the imminent personal return of Christ to set it right. But in this strength lie the seeds of his weakness. For it is from his pietistic fervor that Graham's opponents derive the two criticisms which are, in the long run, most likely to undermine the broad support for his revivals. These are, first, that his Biblical literalism leads inevitably to anti-intellectualism and self-righteousness, and second, that his exclusive concentration on soul-winning ignores not only the social aspects of Christianity but the functional role of "the Church."

The charges of anti-intellectualism and self-righteousness stem directly and indirectly from Graham's absolute insistence that the Bible is the revealed and infallible word of God. "I have accepted the Bible as fully inspired of God," he says, even though "I may not have the ability to prove mathematically" that this is true.⁹ He is willing to say that "The Bible is of course not a textbook on science" and he even says "I would be the last to say that we have nothing to learn from the devout and scholarly studies of the Bible in recent years."¹⁰ His Calvinist background has inculcated a certain respect for learning and he is not above emphasizing the fact that he was a student of anthropology in college and that he devotes considerable time to reading and study. Yet it is quite clear that Graham's respect for education is

limited to those colleges which are Bible-centered and his respect for learning is limited to those men who have not let it dissuade them from the tenets of fundamentalism.¹¹

When there is any conflict between the Bible and the findings of science or scholarship, Graham quickly reverts to the view he expounded in 1949: "I don't care what the scientist has to say. I'm not dependent on what the scientist tells me to believe about this Book. Every time some big shot scientist comes along and makes a statement complimentary to the Word of God we rush out and say, 'Boy, look what so and so said—Look what Dr. so and so, a Ph.D. from Oxford, had to say.' I don't care what any scientist says. The Word of God is enough."¹² When *Life* published a series of articles in 1956 describing the history of mankind in evolutionary terms, Graham rebuked its editors for helping encourage the view that man is descended from a monkey.¹³ He is not even willing to accept the view of the theistic evolutionists that no matter when life started it still was created originally by God: "I do not believe that God created life and then, over a process of many thousands of years, it evolved into what we call man."¹⁴ Only the Biblical account in Genesis is acceptable to him and apparently he follows Bishop Ussher's chronology which placed the creation of Adam in the year 4004 B.C.^{14a}

But what particularly leaves Graham's preaching open to charge of anti-intellectualism is his belief that education is dangerous unless the restraining influence of fundamentalist Christian doctrine is inculcated with it every step of the way. "I sincerely believe that partial education throughout the world is far worse than none at all, if we only educate the mind without the soul. . . . Turn that man loose upon the world [who has] . . . no power higher than his own, he is a monstrosity, he is but half-way educated and is more dangerous than though he were not educated at all."¹⁵ By educating the soul Graham of course means conversion. He is particularly appalled at the thought of foreign students who are being educated in godless American colleges and "are going back to their nation to some day turn upon us

with the very tools we have given them because we gave them no moral balance and restraint. To think of civilizing the heathen countries without converting them is about as wise as to think about transforming them into lambs by washing them and putting on them a fleece of wool.”¹⁶

The same holds true for the education of Americans. Unless education leads to a change of heart such as he defines in his sermons, as well as to an increase in knowledge, it is useless. “You can stick a public school and a university in the middle of every block of every city in America and you will never keep America from rotting morally by mere intellectual education.”¹⁷ During the Red scare of the early 1950’s Graham regularly warned about Communist infiltration into the schools and decried the intellectuals who were soft on communism. “What is the secret of Communism that will make university professors forfeit their reputations, their families, and all they have to follow the ideology of Communism?”¹⁸ And when the scare diminished and Graham felt more certain that a revival was on the way, he said, “During the past few years the intellectual props have been knocked out from under the theories of men. Even the average university professor is willing to listen to the voice of the preacher.”¹⁹

Graham’s most concrete complaint about American education is that since the turn of the century the schools have ceased to teach the moral code of the Bible and have instead inculcated a system of moral relativity. In place of the Bible, he wrote, “we substituted reason, rationalism, mind culture, science worship, the working power of government, Freudianism, naturalism, humanism, behaviorism, positivism, materialism, and idealism.”²⁰ This is the fault of the “so-called intellectuals.” “Thousands of these ‘intellectuals’ have publicly stated that morality is relative—that there is no norm or absolute standard. They say, ‘As long as you enjoy it and no harmful physical or psychological effects occur, go ahead. It must be all right.’”²¹ There has been what he calls “a conspiracy of silence” about Christianity in the classrooms. “Teachers refuse to answer questions or

discuss matters pertaining to the Christian Religion. Their silence implies to us unbelief and hatred for Christ. . . . Stand by—listen to the young people today as they turn from their classrooms—have they studied from the best seller of every year and all time? No! They are the victims of a conspiracy of silence. There is no Bible to study from.”²² Graham lays part of the blame for this upon the Supreme Court. “I disagree with the Supreme Court’s decision in the *McCullum* case. Our forefathers gave us freedom of religion not freedom *from* religion. Unless we bring God into the classroom and make Him the center of education we are not preparing our young people for their roles in Christian society.”²³ And he has frequently said, “The Supreme Court ordered the Bible out of our schools. Many of our educational leaders sneer at the old-fashioned idea of God and a moral code.”²⁴

Supporters of Graham who disagree with the implications of these remarks look upon them as simply careless or thoughtless asides. What these more moderate friends fail to see in these remarks is how central they are to the total pattern of his thought and the extent to which they appeal to those fundamentalists who are only too ready to believe the worst about intellectuals, Supreme Court judges, university professors, scientists, and higher education in general. Moreover, it is only a short step from this sort of anti-intellectualism to the self-righteousness of bigotry.

Graham has twice delivered over the air and distributed free to his listeners a sermon entitled “The Sin of Tolerance” in which he says, “The word ‘tolerant’ means ‘liberal,’ ‘broad-minded,’ ‘willing to put up with beliefs opposed to one’s convictions,’ and ‘the allowance of something not wholly approved of.’” In the most recent version of this sermon, in July, 1958, he began by applying the term to America’s appeasement of Russia which, he said, “reflects the easy-going compromise and tolerance that we have been taught by pseudo-liberals in almost every area of our life for years.”²⁵ The central theme of the sermon is that in

matters of faith it is wrong to be tolerant for there is only one true path to salvation: "When we come in for the landing in the great airport in heaven I don't want any broad-mindedness. I want to come in on the beam and even though I may be considered narrow here, I want to be sure of a safe landing there." But Graham is concerned with more than spiritual narrowness in this sermon. Its basic tone and implication is that there is no room for tolerance in any sphere of thought or action. It is sinful, says Graham, that "We have become tolerant about divorce; we have become tolerant about the use of alcohol; we have become tolerant about delinquency; we have become tolerant about wickedness in high places; we have become tolerant about immorality; we have become tolerant about crime and we have become tolerant about godlessness." In this, as in other sermons, Graham seeks to divide the world into two groups, the born-again Christians and the godless. "Christ said, '... no man can serve two masters'" and "If we are not with Him we are against Him."²⁶ There can be no freedom to differ, for tolerance is a sin. Applied to matters of faith Graham may have grounds for argument, but applied to foreign affairs and social mores his assertion of fundamentalist dogmatism becomes worse than self-righteousness; it becomes fanaticism.

This is particularly evident in Graham's patronizing attitude toward the heathen of Asia and Africa. "What a difference there is between the Christian in India and the average man in the street," he wrote in an article for *Christian Life* during his visit to Asia. "The average man in the street seemingly has a fairly hard and dark morbid look on his face. You know the look of heathenism. Yet the Christian is so completely different."²⁸ When he returned from Asia he was interviewed by someone on the staff of *U.S. News and World Report*, who framed the questions about India in such a way that, despite his attempt to be diplomatic, Graham clearly gave the impression that the morality of the people of India was inferior to that of Americans

because they were not Christians. The interviewer asked:

"You speak of the religious background of these people and their interest in spiritual things. One thing that puzzles many people here is that when an issue of right and wrong arises, India will often take a position between those two positions and say that she's neutral. For example, if there are crimes committed, people enslaved and people sent to prison camps, people maltreated in various ways, deprived of their liberties—as we read from day to day in the press report about what's happening in Russia—how can people with a spiritual background like that take a position of indifference and detachment toward these highly moral questions of right and wrong?"

Graham answered:

"First of all, when I say [that the people of India are] religious, I do not mean necessarily Christian. Therefore the standards of morality [in India] are somewhat different than our Judaistic and Christian standards of morality."

The interviewer pressed him:

"What are the differences between their standards of morality and ours?"

Graham hesitated:

"I'm not sure that I'm qualified to give the differences of the standards of morality. . . ."

The interviewer tried again:

"What about principles of justice? Do they hold that persons who commit wrong should be punished?"

Graham answered:

"I'm not sure that I'm qualified to answer that question. . . ." ²⁹

This may be more revealing about the attitude of *U.S. News and World Report* than about Graham, nevertheless the reader leaves this interview feeling that Graham doubted whether the people of India do know the difference between right and wrong in any sense recognizable to a Christian. His refusal to answer the question posed by the interviewer was not merely carelessness. In fact, Graham was probably bending over backward to avoid making any statement about India that might give offense to the

Indians. But the truth of the matter may well be that Graham inherently believes that no non-Christian culture would be able to distinguish between crime and justice, maltreatment and kindness, slavery and freedom. In the light of Graham's conviction that the struggle between America and Russia is a struggle between Christ and Satan, neutrality is not a morally defensible position. Evangelism and missionary work in India is therefore a form of Christian imperialism which Graham finds thoroughly justifiable.³⁰ He has stated elsewhere that the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man and the universal fatherhood of God is false. "You say, well isn't God the father of us all? No . . . until you come to the Cross of Christ and receive him as your Saviour, you cannot properly say, 'Our Father.'" ³¹ When he concluded the interview in *U.S. News and World Report* with the statement that "Asia can be won," he meant that it must be won not only from communism but from Buddhism and Hinduism. In his simplistic vision, it is as easy to indict a nation of 500,000,000 as it is to indict a single sinner.

Graham is partially aware of how simplistic his sermons are. According to him, "The average religious intelligence of an American is that of a twelve year old. Therefore the preaching of today must be in utter simplicity almost as if you were talking to children."³² The end result is, as Reinhold Niebuhr and others have pointed out, that Graham's preaching becomes almost irrelevant to the difficult domestic and international problems of the day. Graham's "pietistic individualism" Niebuhr rightly says, "is in danger of obscuring the highly complex tasks of justice in the community and of making too sharp distinction between the 'saved' and the 'unsaved.'" ³³

There are innumerable examples of the way in which Graham obscures the highly complex task of achieving a just society and at the same time denigrates the functional role of the church. All of them stem from his view that sin is entirely an individual matter which can be settled by making the right answer to his question, "Are you on God's side

or the Devil's? Do you accept Christ, or reject Him?" Where the evangelist or Christian soul winner can solve the problem of sin, what is left for the church to do?

Graham's irrelevant approach to the complex question of the causes of war, for example, can be demonstrated by this statement in *Peace with God*: "It is the same sin that causes an African savage to skulk along a jungle trail awaiting his victim with a spear in hand and a well-trained, educated pilot to fly a jet plane over that same jungle ready to bomb an unsuspecting village."³⁴ His comments upon the Soviet Union's invasion of Hungary in 1956 were equally obtuse: "The same thing that produced juvenile delinquency and crime in America produced the tortuous outburst in Hungary."³⁵ With no sense of incongruity he lumps together in one paragraph as evidences of the "iniquity and sin abroad in the world today," "Racial tensions . . . rising in North Africa, South Africa . . . the terrible division and tension over Suez . . . our divorce rate the highest in history . . . an American movie . . . filled with rock 'n' roll music . . . a young man [Elvis Presley] whose songs emphasize the sensual. . . ." ³⁶

Graham argues that summit meetings with godless nations are useless, that no form of international conciliation is possible, that wars—even atomic wars—are inevitable.^{36a} Yet at the same time he offers the miraculous fantasy of world leaders converted to Christianity who will bring peace and tranquility to the world overnight. Time and again he raises the hopes of his pious auditors by beginning a sentence, "Wouldn't it be wonderful if. . . ." He realizes that it is not likely that Khrushchev, Nasser, and Mao Tse-tung will be converted (though he has long entertained hope of conducting a revival in Russia) but if only they were, then everything would be all right.

On a simpler level, the problems that wrack the home life of the average American are offered an equally magical, irrelevant, and escapist solution. Graham has several times offered to all his "Hour of Decision" listeners "a remembrance of the Billy Graham New York crusade" which he

calls a "Biblegraph." This is a cardboard disc about six inches in diameter on either side of which a slightly smaller disc with three small holes in it is superimposed. Around the edges of the larger disc are listed "the 36 most troublesome questions of modern everyday life," and beneath each question are the days of the week. The smaller discs revolve so as to point to any of the eighteen questions listed on each side. The instructions on the Biblegraph read as follows: "Select the question that troubles you most *today* and turn the dial-pointer to *that day* [of the week]. Then look in the little windows and you will find Book, Chapter, and Verse of a passage from the Bible. . . . Apply the message to yourself. If the same question arises the next day, repeat the process and you will find another specific reference. . . . If your problem persists after 7 days, turn to some other related question." Among the questions listed are, "Do you feel inferior?" "Are you harassed by money matters?" "Do you have domestic problems?" "Are you lonely?" "Are you depressed?" "Do your children seem ungrateful?" "Is business bad?" The Biblegraph's answer for Monday to the question "Is business bad?" is Ecclesiastes 5:12, "The sleep of the labouring man is sweet whether he eat little or much; but the abundance of the rich will not suffer him to sleep." The answer to "Do you feel inferior?" for Friday is Psalms, 138:6, "Though the Lord be high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly; but the proud he knoweth afar off."

This is not too far removed from Norman Vincent Peale's handy little cards (designed to fit easily into a pocketbook or wallet) which list the ten steps to overcome an inferiority complex. The pietistic fundamentalist and the mystical modernist meet in the realm of hope and miracles. It is not altogether surprising therefore that Graham's New York crusade netted more decision cards for Peale's church than for any one of the other fifteen hundred cooperating churches.³⁷ Nor is it surprising that the university-educated, seminary-trained pastor of the average suburban church around New York often found his members confused by

listening to Graham's sermons: "Following up 'commitments' secured from members of my congregation," wrote the Rev. George C. Bonnell, pastor of the West Side Presbyterian Church of Englewood, New Jersey, "I was surprised to note how foggy a notion most of them had about their actions. More than one family of our church is terribly confused and upset because they feel that somehow their brand of faithful, everyday Christian living does not possess the emotional fervor and dedication of 'conversions' at the Garden."³⁸ In Graham's preaching the fundamental activities of Christian living are soul-winning, Bible-reading, and prayer. But this is not the average American's view of religion.

The average middle-class American still believes in the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God; he still thinks of religion as primarily an application of the ethics of Jesus to the social problems that surround him. To be told to pray for miracles, or to search for answers to business problems in the Bible, or to confront his friends with the question, "Have you accepted Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour?" seems unthinkable. Naturally it is exciting to hear Graham preach because he makes religion so dramatic and faces his auditors with such a heroic challenge in the name of patriotism and Christianity. Ordinary church services seem dull by comparison. Yet if his converts did what he wanted them to do or what he implies that they should do, they would at once leave their jobs and become missionaries to save the heathen from hell and communism. For the college-educated suburbanite who has gone with his fellow church members to hear Graham because he feels that Graham is doing some good, it is a shock to hear that to believe in evolution is ungodly and that saving souls is a more effective method of social reform than community action. This is also a shock to many pastors who have a far broader conception of their duties and of the role of their churches.

Occasionally Graham has made some concessions to the American penchant for do-goodism. In a recent sermon on

juvenile delinquency he offered as one of ten "suggestions that may be helpful in the present situation" that Americans should "clean up the bad slums and housing conditions that breed a great deal of our crime."³⁹ But this is one of the few statements in all of Graham's sermons in which he shows any awareness that sin may have a social origin. It is also one of his first intimations that collective or governmental action rather than an individual and voluntary approach would be useful in alleviating a social problem.

The week after he gave this sermon in March, 1958, Graham delivered another on the "social application" of the gospel which showed no indication whatever that he thought Christianity stood for any type of social action other than charity and pity. The sermon was called "The Sin of Omission" and Graham began it with the statement that "If the gospel we preach does not have a social application, if it will not work effectively in the work-a-day world, then it is not the gospel of Jesus Christ." He then offered six examples of applied Christianity which it would be sinful to omit: "There is a man in your community who has done you an injustice. . . . You could extend to him the warm hand of forgiveness." "You know a man who had had misfortune and bereavement . . . offer him a helping hand and some financial help." "You know a young man . . . fighting against temptation. . . . Lay your hand on his shoulder and give him a word of encouragement and cheer." "You know a mother . . . standing over the fevered body of a sick child. . . . Visit her and relieve her for one night." "You know a poor family down the street. . . . The father is out of work and . . . they have scarcely a thing to eat. . . . Visit that family and offer your help." "You know a man in your neighborhood who needs Christ. . . . Bring him to the Saviour." The sermon closed with a reference to "the starving millions of Asia" and the "underprivileged in Africa," but again the suggested remedy was personal philanthropy: God "has given you wealth. Have you divided it? He has given you love. Have you shared it?" Collective effort in the form of Point Four assistance or foreign loans was ap-

parently still a "give-away" program which would weaken the United States and undermine the individual initiative and incentive of the Asians. Most American churchgoers were aware by 1960 that, while Graham's proposals for Christian living were valid enough in terms of small-town neighborliness or even within the city block or apartment house, they were of little help in solving the major dilemmas of the day.

In spite of the hopes (expressed ten years ago by many who wished Graham well) that he would "transcend his parochial background" and "break his own pattern," there is little evidence that he has altered his underlying fundamentalist and politically conservative point of view. He has, however, matured sufficiently to show a vague awareness of what he is expected to say. Soon after he got to London he was quoted as remarking, "You can say what you like about socialism, but it's done a lot of good here."⁴⁰ And he told Stanley Rowland, Jr., in an interview for the *New York Times* shortly after his New York crusade, "I was critical of India because I didn't understand India . . . until I went to India and saw for myself the terrible economic and social problems [there]. . . . That gave me an understanding."⁴¹ But he has not yet introduced these attitudes into his sermons. Nor, despite all his statements about the need for granting equal rights to Negroes, has he yet made it an obligation of all truly converted Christians that they should take a stand against segregation. He also refuses to see any moral implication in the testing of atomic bombs and claims that any comment on this matter is "a little out of my field" as a minister.⁴²

His sermons show no indication of dropping the "scare technique" that he first used in Los Angeles. When the Soviet Union launched its first earth satellites in the fall of 1957 and President Eisenhower made a special radio speech urging Americans to keep calm, Graham told his "Hour of Decision" listeners that same week, "it is not only possible but very probable" that the Russians would use the sputniks for launching rocket attacks and that someday the

United States' leaders might find it necessary to "capitulate" to communism.⁴³ A year later when the United States showed eagerness to withdraw its troops from Lebanon soon after it had sent them there, Graham chided the administration for giving "another victory" to communism. "We hesitate, we vacillate, and weakly back down when the going gets rough. Why doesn't our President tell them in no uncertain terms that we will get out of Lebanon if they will get out of Hungary?"⁴⁴ In September, 1958, Graham said, "I do not know one great victory we have won in recent years over Communism. It's gaining slowly but surely . . . and coming ever closer to the shores of this country. . . . The church as we know it today may someday have to go underground."⁴⁵ In short it seems that Graham, instead of breaking his pattern, has at best merely managed to be somewhat more tactful in displaying it. It remains to be seen whether this will be sufficient to maintain his symbolic leadership of Protestantism much longer. Individualism has never constituted more than a part of the American democratic faith and pessimism is not yet the predominant strain in the American character.

On the whole it now looks as if Billy Graham's revivals have lost their luster. So much has been written about him and his work and each crusade is so similar to all the preceding ones that public curiosity has been satiated. Billy Graham's revivals are no longer news—or at least they are only news when they show signs of not being particularly successful. Furthermore, there are no discernible results of his meetings which seem to merit conspicuous attention. The cooperating ministers in cities where he has preached may note a new interest among their members or a few new faces, men's Bible classes may be slightly enlarged, a greater interest in foreign missions is apparent, but these changes are hardly front-page news.

On the other hand, it is not likely that Graham will soon sink into oblivion. Like other major evangelists of the past he can undoubtedly look forward, health permitting, to a long career of honor and respect. Charles Finney continued

to conduct revivals for almost forty years after he passed the peak of his fame. Moody was active for twenty years, Sam P. Jones for twenty, Gypsy Smith for twenty-five, and Billy Sunday for fifteen years after they were no longer front-page news. Those who were most honored in their later years, like Finney and Moody, took up new interests in addition to their revivalism. Finney became a professor and later President of Oberlin College. Moody founded two schools in Northfield which have achieved an enviable academic standing. Graham has hinted that if he ever retires from evangelism he would take a job as a college president. But perhaps, like Finney, he can do both. He has in the past.

Graham's future role in Protestantism will depend primarily upon the course which America's fourth great awakening takes in the next decade. It is one of his major achievements to date that through his revivals he has temporarily succeeded in creating a *modus vivendi* between the resurgent neofundamentalists represented by the National Association of Evangelicals and the retrenching modernists represented by the National Council of Churches. He would obviously like to see these groups merge in some kind of "spiritual fellowship" so that the NCC would become more "evangelical" and the NAE would gain some of the prestige and power which is attached to the older organization. But it is unlikely that the rank and file of the NAE would take kindly to any such maneuver unless the leaders of the major denominations were willing to accept a more rigid adherence to the fundamentalist creed than they are apt to. The current readjustment in Protestantism is infinitely complex and it involves basic attitudes toward ecclesiastical policy as well as theological doctrine which Graham, despite his best efforts, is not capable of resolving.

The members of the NAE with whom Graham has been associated almost since its start in 1942, have for years denounced ecumenicalism in general and the NCC in particular—calling it "the Super-Church" and "the Coming Great Church." Ever since the great modernist-fundamentalist

schism began in the 1920's the fundamentalists have emphasized the pietistic doctrine of "separatism" and called upon the faithful to come out from among the apostate denominations affiliated with the Federal Council of Churches and its successor the NCC. The NAE was formed primarily to facilitate this withdrawal, and its most active spokesmen today still hope that it will eventually unite within its "evangelical fellowship" the thirty million Protestants who, they claim, are not in harmony with the liberalism of the NCC.

Because of his personal membership in the NAE and because its members have formed the nucleus of his support in almost all of his revivals, Graham is committed to defending the organization. Since 1952 he has been a regular speaker at its annual conventions, exhorting it to further efforts to preserve the faith. Yet while Graham has fully sympathized with the NAE's attacks on modernism and its fears of ecumenical unity, he has become increasingly less sympathetic with the pietistic separatism of some NAE leaders. Consequently, during the past few years Graham has become more active in his own denomination, the conservative Southern Baptist Convention, than in the NAE. He is no separatist.

Ever since his failure in 1952 to win sufficient support to hold a campaign in New York, Graham has recognized the need for accepting support from nonfundamentalist ministers if his revivals are to have the scope and impact necessary "to reach the cities for Christ." Some of his friends, particularly those associated with the magazine *Christianity Today*, consider it a significant triumph for "the new evangelicalism" that Graham has been able to obtain the cooperation of ministerial councils and federations which were dominated by liberals and modernists. Mass revivalism had become so closely associated with fundamentalism in the days of Billy Sunday and the Scopes trial that to many neo-fundamentalists it seemed like an admission of error on the part of the liberals when they returned to the support of revivalism in the 1950's. Since Graham refused to compromise on the doctrines he preached in his revivals, it was

assumed that the liberals had made the concessions by backing him. If the ministers who supported Graham did not succumb to his message, at least it was thought that many of their church members would.

To date the official spokesmen of the NAE have not quarreled with Graham concerning his liberal sponsorship. They have in fact defended his actions as a statesmanlike attempt to "penetrate" or "infiltrate" the regular denominations and thus to sap their strength from within by siphoning their members off into churches more sympathetic with the NAE. Nevertheless, a growing number of prominent fundamentalists within and without the NAE have, since 1954, begun to express serious doubts concerning Graham's policy of cooperation. Led by such old-time fundamentalist stalwarts as Bob Jones, Sr., the founder of Bob Jones University, John R. Rice, editor of the *Sword of the Lord*, and Ernest Pickering, the executive secretary of the Independent Fundamental Churches of America, this group has begun to speak out against him and to discourage other fundamentalists from supporting any Graham crusade in which liberal churches cooperate.

A dozen or more pamphlets and scores of magazine articles in fundamentalist journals and mimeographed broadsides have been printed in the past three or four years denouncing Graham for "selling out" to the modernists. Fundamentalist ministers in New York, San Francisco, and Chicago have actively banded together to repudiate his crusades in these cities. These are not members of the fringe group of ultrafundamentalists led by Carl McIntire, founder of the American Council of Christian Churches. They are former friends and supporters of Graham and the NAE who feel that he has strayed from the "true evangelical" path in order to gain greater worldly success. The four principal accusations they make against Graham are first, that by permitting himself to be sponsored by ministers whom he admits to be liberals and modernists he is associating with known apostates, thereby strengthening their position, weakening his own, and acting contrary to Biblical injunctions

on the matter of separatism. The second charge is that by such cooperation Graham is forced to compromise on his message, perhaps unwittingly; at any rate he must refrain from attacking modernists while he is cooperating with them and this confuses many Bible-believing Christians who do not know why Graham is consorting with people like Norman Peale and Ralph Sockman and Henry Van Dusen whom their pastors so vigorously denounce. The third accusation is that Graham frankly admits that all those who make decisions in his revivals are permitted to join the church of their choice even if it is a liberal or modernist church; decision cards are knowingly turned over to liberals by Graham thereby virtually ensuring their loss to fundamentalism even though Graham may have preached it faithfully during his crusade. And the fourth charge is that after Graham's campaign in New York (and presumably the practice was followed elsewhere) the sum of \$67,000 (taken from the surplus of contributions) was turned over by the crusade committee to the Protestant Council of New York to be used for evangelistic purposes; this will presumably strengthen that liberal-dominated organization to the detriment of New York's truly fundamentalist churches who are not members of the council. Many of the fundamentalists who make these complaints against Graham remember all too vividly how they smarted in the debacle of the 1920's when liberals took their churches from them and drove them from their denominational posts. Graham, a second generation fundamentalist, did not go through this trial of faith and the old-timers now see him as either naive or self-centered in his willingness to befriend these bitter enemies.^{45a}

On the whole Graham has ignored these critics, though his research associate, Robert O. Ferm, and his father-in-law, L. Nelson Bell, have vigorously tried to refute them. They are, say Graham's defenders, fanatical "ultra-fundamentalists" and "narrow separatists" who fail to see that God is blessing Graham's cooperative evangelism which, like Moody's and Sunday's, must accept broad support if it is to succeed. Graham's only comment is that he will preach

anywhere, under any sponsorship, so long as he is permitted to preach "the doctrines of historic Christianity" without qualification.

One of the most shrewd and ardent of Graham's supporters, Carl F. H. Henry, has been trying to erect a middle ground for "the new evangelicalism" somewhere between the NAE and the NCC. Using his editorial columns in *Christianity Today*, Henry praises "the gigantic evangelistic impact spearheaded by Billy Graham" on the one hand but condemns the NAE for being too separatist on the other. Henry and those closest to Graham at present have no quarrel with the theological creed of the NAE which they claim is their creed and Graham's creed as well. But they find that the NAE is too limited in its funds, in its theological scholarship, in its social outlook, in the scope of its polity, and by its lack of able leaders to compete successfully with the NCC from outside the regular denominations. These middle-of-the-roads feel that Graham has broken down the old wall of separation between modernists and fundamentalists. They believe that the NCC is now turning away from modernism and liberalism and that through neo-orthodoxy it is working its way back to the old fundamentalist doctrines. They are opposed to ecumenicalism, but they are in favor of "a true interdenominational, international evangelicalism" based on "the Lord and the Book." Precisely what this middle road of "the new evangelicalism" stands for it is still impossible to discern.⁴⁶

It may be that the present trend in theology among those who are leading the NCC is toward a theological position halfway between twentieth century liberalism and nineteenth century evangelicalism, and if the liberal elements in the NAE continue to push their associates toward a clearer understanding of Biblical scholarship, then Graham may see some sort of merger between the two organizations in his lifetime. His future may be that of an elder statesman mediating between the distrustful factions on both sides.

It is more probable, however, that when the hectic days of revivalism die down in the next decade the two wings of

Protestantism will still be as far apart as they are now. Instead of having broken down the wall of separation between fundamentalism and modernism in the name of greater harmony, Graham may simply have opened the gates for another battle royal. Only this time the battle will be more evenly waged than it was in the 1920's. There is no doubt which side Graham will be on if such a fight does occur. He will never forsake his fundamentalism, and he may well become a kind of party war horse, an exhorter of Gideon's army, who will be called upon to address each new fundamentalist rally and to instill through his oratory the zeal for each new foray. His statesmanship then might consist in his ability to keep together the various factions within and around the NAE. But it is unlikely that he would be one of the inner circle of the neofundamentalist party. He is too ingenuous to be conniving, too unsophisticated to be an ecclesiastical politician. Nor does he have the educational and intellectual attainments to serve as a formulator of party policy or theology. His friendships with many liberals may even become an embarrassment rather than an asset.

Certainly Graham would sincerely deprecate any such internecine warfare among Christians as the future might bring. He has already spoken out against the failure of the fundamentalists to stick together: "These dissensions in the ranks of Evangelical Christians are a stench in the nostrils of God. If ever there was a time for Evangelical Christians to demonstrate unity and love, it is now. Christians, this is an emergency—this is a war to the death with Satan and all his hosts—this is a time for prayer on the part of God's people, not dissension and strife. *Certainly* we are to be separated from the world. The Bible teaches that. But I find nowhere that we are to be separated from Bible-believing Christians." ⁴⁷

For the present Graham is still a figure to reckon with on the American scene. He has revival tours and city-wide crusades scheduled well into the 1960's. His next big targets are Chicago and Philadelphia. America's fourth great awak-

ening is by no means ended, though Graham's part in it is dwindling. If the awakenings of the past are any precedent, this one, in its broadest sense, may well encompass a whole generation. On the basis of Graham's part in it so far, the historian of the future will probably treat him as a catalyst of theological and ecclesiastical change rather than as a prime mover.

The essence of the current reorientation of Protestantism is not to be found in Billy Graham's revivals. The catalyst is neutral in the reaction. Or, to put it another way, revivals have, at least since Finney's day, been like the smoke which betokens a theological fire; but the fire is not in them. They hover around and often simply obscure the real flames of controversy. It is probable that the theological and ecclesiastical aspects of this great awakening will take place wholly within the organized churches and among the leaders of the NCC and the World Council of Churches. The fundamentalists will remain, as pietistic groups generally have, outside the mainstream of Christendom. Like the third parties in American politics, the NAE is a form of organized protest which will wither away as its major complaints are assimilated into the regular churches. The pitched battle between neofundamentalism and neoliberalism is not likely to take place, and those pietists, like Graham, who have penetrated temporarily into the stronghold of the organized churches will either capitulate or withdraw once more to the fringe of protest.

No one can yet tell what form the new theology, which is to replace liberalism, will take. That it will abandon the more relativistic and optimistic emphases of modernism is apparent. But it will never repudiate science and scholarship in such a way as to satisfy the pietists. This is where Graham's anti-intellectualism weakens him. Nor will the regular denominations heed the pietists' demand to abandon their belief in the social function of the churches—their duty to deal specifically with questions of economic and political justice in this world. And this is where Graham's individualistic emphasis weakens him.⁴⁸

But the Christian churches can never forsake their evangelistic function in a pluralistic and unredeemed world. And in this lies Billy Graham's strength. It is unfortunate for the cause of evangelism, however, that it requires a pitch of fervent, cooperative effort which it is impossible to sustain. Ten years of crisis is the limit of human endurance, and Billy Graham has now had his ten years. Perhaps, like Charles Grandison Finney, he will live long enough to see America's next great awakening in forty years or so. Meanwhile he must make the fateful choice between the new school and the old pietism, while skeptics continue to wonder whether his revivals have been any more successful than those of previous professional evangelists in stemming the increasing secularism of American life.

Whatever the outcome of this fourth great awakening, Billy Graham's place in American history is sure. Some religious historians will no doubt look back upon him as a twentieth-century Whitefield or Savonarola calling a wicked nation to repentance for its sins. Other historians may treat him simply as a colorful "Gabriel in gabardine," a "thunderer of God," or a "heavenly huckster." But those who know American history best will probably portray him as the heir of an ancient and honorable revival tradition, a significant symbol of religious and intellectual reorientation, a spokesman of his times, an importunate pietist in a portentous age.

Bibliographical Note

The primary source for a study like this is, of course, to attend Billy Graham's revivals and to interview those who have helped promote them. I have talked with more than a dozen of his close associates and with several scores of persons associated directly in his various crusades over the past eight years. I have met and talked briefly with Mr. Graham, and I have benefited from the painstaking comments which he and other members of his staff made upon this manuscript. Through the courtesy of his personal secretary, Mr. Paul J. Maddox, I was given a press pass for the New York crusade: I sat on the platform at Madison Square Garden; I went with the inquirers into the inquiry room; I talked with counselors, advisors, team members, cooperating ministers, choir members; I attended pastors' meetings and showings of the various films concerning Billy Graham's crusades. I was in London during the crusade at Harringay Arena in 1954 and attended many of the services there as well as preliminary and auxiliary meetings. I have visited the Minneapolis headquarters of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association and have taken notes on almost two hundred "Hour of Decision" broadcasts since April, 1951. I have watched Billy Graham on television.

In addition to relying upon this accumulation of personal experience and notes, I have been on the mailing list of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association for eight years and have kept a file of all the mailings. I also received all the

mailings sent out by the local committees for the London and New York crusades. Among the most valuable data received from the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association have been the hundred odd printed radio sermons offered free to listeners from time to time, and the various editions of *Decision*, the newsletter of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. These contain many statements indicative of Graham's political and economic views as well as his theology.

Some of Graham's early sermons have been published in the following volumes: *Calling Youth to Christ* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1947), *Revival in Our Time* (Wheaton, Illinois, 1950), *America's Hour of Decision* (Wheaton, Illinois, 1951). Graham's books, *Peace with God* (New York, 1953), *The Secret of Happiness* (New York, 1955), and *The Seven Deadly Sins* (Minneapolis, 1955) contain material he has used in his sermons. Various accounts of his evangelistic tours abroad have been written by himself and by members of his staff. These have been carefully edited to avoid controversial material but occasionally they provide revealing insights. Two volumes have appeared describing the New York crusade and one on the San Francisco crusade from the point of view of Graham's admirers. Stanley High's biography, *Billy Graham* (New York, 1956), contains most of the relevant data, but it is a highly eulogistic account with several errors of fact. Charles T. Cook's *The Billy Graham Story* (London, 1954) has some useful material not in High's book.

Magazine articles by Graham, his wife, his mother, his father-in-law and multifarious friends and feature-writers provide additional insights into his outlook and personal history. Among the most revealing interviews with Graham have been those published from time to time in *U.S. News and World Report*. The best short account of a Graham revival is by James L. McAllister, "Evangelical Faith and Billy Graham," in *Social Action*, March, 1953. Mr. McAllister also kindly loaned to me his 160-page manuscript study of Billy Graham's Greensboro, North Carolina, crusade of

1951 entitled "Greensboro and Billy Graham: Effects of the Billy Graham Crusade on the Community, Churches, and Individuals of Greensboro, North Carolina." This carefully prepared, scholarly analysis contains a mine of detailed information gleaned from close observation, personal interviews, and questionnaires, as well as many astute observations made by Mr. McAllister and his associates, Esther H. Artman, Paul L. Hammer, and Warren Ashby. A copy of this manuscript, which was written in 1952, is on file in the social ethics library of the Yale Divinity School, Yale University. The best feature story to date about Graham has been Noel Houston's "Billy Graham" in *Holiday*, March, 1958. Several incisive analyses of various aspects of Graham's theology and methods have appeared in the *Christian Century* over the past five years. Sympathetic accounts of Graham's work can be found in *Christianity Today*, *United Evangelical Action*, the *Moody Monthly*, *Youth for Christ* magazine, and *Christian Life*. The best source for material on Graham's work in Britain is the *British Weekly*, which has been by turns cool, favorable, and cool toward him. The numerous articles in *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek*, *Look*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, the *Reader's Digest*, etc., provide few fresh insights.

The most useful sources for data on Graham's individual revivals are the local newspapers of the cities in which he has campaigned. Unfortunately few libraries keep files of the "yellow" journals and tabloids which often contain the most colorful accounts. Few of the sedate dailies have carried Graham's sermons in full the way those of D. L. Moody and Billy Sunday used to be. But all the relevant facts concerning the mechanics and statistics of the crusades are contained in the local press reports.

I have relied heavily upon the texts of Graham's sermons as published in the *Observer* (Charlotte, North Carolina), September 22–October 26, 1958.

I have utilized such statistics as are available from various independent polls in regard to the conversions and new church members resulting from Graham's revivals, but I can-

not vouch for their accuracy. The statistics released by the Graham team and local committees are usually overoptimistic; those dug up by his critics are perhaps overly pessimistic. No thorough analysis has been made by a trained sociologist as yet. It is probable that no statistical study could adequately measure the influence of a revival campaign.

Space does not permit any listing of the many peripheral and secondary sources which were consulted to provide the background for this book, but the most important of them may be found listed in the footnotes to this book and to my earlier work, *Modern Revivalism, Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York, 1959).

Notes

CHAPTER 1: Billy Graham and the Revival Tradition

1. *U.S. News and World Report*, August 27, 1954, p. 70.
2. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* (New York, 1946), pp. 161-162.
3. Robert O. Ferm, *Cooperative Evangelism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1958), p. 12.
4. *United Evangelical Action* (Cincinnati, Ohio), October 15, 1945, p. 12.
5. William F. Graham, "We Need Revival!" in *Revival in Our Time* (Wheaton, Illinois, 1950), pp. 69-77.
6. *Time*, October 25, 1954, p. 54.
7. Consider this attack upon Finney, for instance, which sounds very much like the opposition voiced by certain ministers against Billy Graham today: "Revivals are always spurious when they are *got up* by man's device and not *brought down* by the Spirit of God. . . . What is that piety that courts observation and wishes to be seen, that obtrudes itself on the notice of others, that talks of its own experience and attainments, that is bold and assuming, that wishes to be put forward and that unblushingly exclaims with Jehu, 'Come, see my zeal for the Lord! . . . They [revivalists who "get up" revivals] count their converts and when they survey their work there is a triumph, a self-reliant exultation over it, which looks like the triumph of the Pagan monarch when he exclaimed, 'Is this not the great Babylon which I have built.'" Gardiner Spring, *Personal Reminiscences* (New York, 1866), Vol. I, 217-219. For a detailed study of Finney's contribution to the revival tradition see W. G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (N.Y., 1959).
8. Haskell M. Miller, "Religion in the South," *Christendom*, VII (Summer, 1942), pp. 305-318.
9. Quoted in Herbert W. Schneider, *Religion in 20th Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), pp. 107-108 from the *Christian Century*, December 4, 1935.
10. *Time*, November 14, 1949, p. 63.
11. *Time*, November 13, 1950, p. 61.

CHAPTER 2: Who Is Billy Graham?

1. Stanley High, *Billy Graham* (New York, 1956), p. 16.
2. *Pittsburgh Press*, September 21, 1952, p. 2.

2a. See *Revival in our Time* (Special Edition for Youth for Christ International, Wheaton, Illinois, 1950), pp. 90, 102.

3. William F. Graham, *Mother's Day Message* (a radio message copyright 1953 by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota).

4. See Armin Gesswein, "How Billy Graham Was Converted" (an interview with Mordecai Ham) in the Special Reprint of *Christian Life*, September, 1957.

5. High, *op. cit.*, p. 108. In 1958 Graham was awarded the honor of "Salesman of the Year" by the Sales Executive Club of New York for his ability to sell religion.

6. Wheaton College, which calls itself "a Christian liberal arts college," requires all its faculty members and members of the administration to declare their belief annually in a creed which begins: "We believe in the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments as verbally inspired by God and inerrant in the original writings, and that they are of supreme and final authority in faith and life." All students at Wheaton are required to sign an agreement that they will "abstain from the use of alcoholic liquors and tobacco, from gambling and the possession and use of playing cards, from dancing and from meetings of secret societies, and from attendance at theaters, including movies." See *Bulletin of Wheaton College 1959-60* (Wheaton College, Illinois) pp. 10-11.

7. See for example, William F. Graham, *Calling Youth to Christ* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1947), pp. 21-22.

8. *Revival in Our Time* (Special Edition for Youth for Christ International, Wheaton, Illinois, 1950), p. 3.

9. This sermon entitled "The Holy Spirit and Revival in Our Time" was delivered at the 1952 convention of the National Association of Evangelicals. It is reprinted in Charles T. Cook, *The Billy Graham Story* (London, 1954), pp. 90 ff. While Graham also said in this sermon that he believed that modernists could "be loved back into the fold of orthodoxy" he was in reality sounding a war cry.

CHAPTER 3: Billy Graham Becomes Front-Page News

1. William F. Graham, "The Resurrection of Jesus Christ," printed in *Revival in Our Time* (Wheaton, Illinois, 1950), p. 141.

2. This sermon is reprinted in *Revival in Our Time* (Wheaton, Illinois, 1950), p. 69 ff.

3. See Stanley High, *Billy Graham* (New York, 1956), p. 148. I have been unable to verify whether Hearst sent his "Puff Graham" telegram before or after the Los Angeles Executive Committee decided to extend the revival for a fourth week. I assume that the committee was unaware of the telegram when it made its decision.

4. See *Revival in Our Time, op. cit.*, p. 14. Graham never said who the second person was but a good guess would be Mickey Cohen.

5. Smith was quoted to this effect in the *Columbia State* (Columbia, South Carolina), February 19, 1950, p. 2.

6. *United Evangelical Action* (Cleveland, Ohio), April 15, 1946, p. 5. See also *ibid.*, August 15, 1956, p. 5.

7. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1955, p. 13.

8. For an account of the Boston revival with newspaper quotations see *Revival in Our Time*, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff.

9. For most of the information on the Columbia campaign I have relied upon the files of the local newspaper, the *Columbia State*, and *Revival in Our Time*, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff.

10. *Revival in Our Time*, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Graham later said that Bernard Baruch, who lived in Kingstree, near Columbia, was the man who persuaded Luce to come and hear him; see *Charlotte Observer*, October 27, 1958, p. 1.

11. For information on Trotman and the Navigators see *Time*, July 2, 1956, p. 59, and *United Evangelical Action*, August 1, 1958, p. 8.

12. For variant versions of this story see *America's Hour of Decision* (Wheaton, Illinois, 1951) pp. 47-48 and Stanley High, *Billy Graham* (New York, 1956) pp. 163-164.

13. *America's Hour of Decision*, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

14. The members of the board of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, Inc., as of January 1, 1959 were Roger Hull (Executive Vice-President of the Mutual Life Insurance Co., of New York), E. O. Spencer (oilman and hotel owner of Jackson, Mississippi), Charles Pitts (contractor, Toronto), Carlross Morris (attorney of Houston, Texas), Robert Van Kampen (publisher, Wheaton, Illinois) Dr. R. C. Sherer (physician, Bozeman, Montana), V. Raymond Edman (President of Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois), William Jones (printer, Los Angeles), Dr. L. Nelson Bell (Graham's father-in-law, a surgeon in Asheville, North Carolina), Harold Ockenga (pastor of Park Street Church, Boston), the Rev. Leighton Ford (Graham's brother-in-law and associate evangelist), Cliff Barrows, Grady Wilson, George M. Wilson, and Billy Graham. *United Evangelical Action*, January, 1959, p. 13.

15. *Time*, November 27, 1950, p. 54.

CHAPTER 4: Theology and Social Philosophy

1. William F. Graham, *Peace with God* (New York, 1953), p. 26.

2. *Look*, February 7, 1956, p. 49.

3. See Stewart G. Cole, *History of Fundamentalism* (New York, 1931), p. 34. See also *Christianity Today* (Washington, D.C.), September 16, 1957, p. 3, in which Carl F. H. Henry, one of Graham's chief promoters, states that Graham is preaching "the 'five-points' of fundamentalism."

4. Graham, *Peace with God*, p. 98.

5. A typical instance of Graham's attempt to use archaeological evidence to bolster his Biblical interpretations occurs in his sermon on Noah's Ark in which he tries to prove that "the world was destroyed before" (by the flood) and God will destroy it again if man persists in his wickedness: "You remember the story of Noah. A lot of people have laughed it out of school and scoffed at it, but archaeologists no longer laugh at the story of Noah. There is plenty of archaeological evidence that a flood did exist at one time over a certain portion of the world—the portion that Noah lived in." *Charlotte Observer*, October 12, 1958, p. 6-A. That this evidence weakens rather than strengthens the validity of the Bible was recognized as long ago as 1851 when the *Princeton Review*, the foremost Presbyterian theological journal in the United States, maintained that unless the flood was universal, the Bible was not the Word of God. See Barbara Cross, *Horace Bushnell* (Chicago, 1958), p. 122.

6. Graham, *Peace with God*, p. 33.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 30. One of the distinctions between Graham and the more extreme form of fundamentalists is his willingness to use and recommend to his auditors the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. "I like a Bible that is of modern translation," he says. "I have about five or six translations that I keep on my desk all the time." But he also adds, "Now keep your King James. I preach from the King James. . . ." *Charlotte Observer*, September 26, 1958, p. 4-B.

10. Graham, *Peace with God*, p. 44.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 90, 93.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107. Some think that Graham's de-emphasis of emotional conversion distinguishes his revivalism from that of Billy Sunday and D. L. Moody. But both these evangelists were as insistent as he that conversion need not be an emotional experience.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

24. *Charlotte Observer*, October 18, 1958, p. 6-A. At other times Graham says almost the opposite: "I told God 'I don't have the power to

forsake my sins.' . . . There is an evil principle down inside of me which is pulling me and tugging at me—there's nothing I can do. . . . You can't work your way to heaven. . . . Salvation is by the grace and mercy of God." *Ibid.*, September 25, 1958, p. 6-A.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

32. The repudiation of the *McCall's* article is referred to in *United Evangelical Action*, December 1, 1954, p. 11. The other quotations in this paragraph are taken from Graham's radio sermon "America's Immorality" (published by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association in 1954) and from sermons printed in the *Charlotte Observer* September 22-October 26, 1958.

33. From Graham's radio messages, "What God Can Do for You" (1956), and "The Responsibilities of the Home" (1955), published by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (hereinafter referred to as the BGEA).

34. See *Charlotte Observer*, September 25, 1958, p. 6-A.

35. This sermon is reprinted in *Revival in Our Time* (Wheaton, Illinois, 1950), pp. 89 ff.

36. Graham is not so rigorous in disciplining his own children as these quotations might indicate: "I have a teenage daughter," he said in 1958. "Once in a while I have to discipline her. And always I call her in and spend a half an hour loving her, then I explain what I am going to do—going to take away television or something like that for a while. Then I love her for about half an hour afterwards." *Charlotte Observer*, September 24, 1958, p. 8-A. Yet on another occasion in 1958 he seemed ready to advocate the return of the whipping post as a cure for juvenile delinquency: "In some of the West Indies where we visited they still use the whipping post. We heard of a youth who was publicly whipped for the crime of rape. Little wonder that juvenile delinquency is practically unheard of in many of these islands." See Graham's radio sermon "Teenage Vandalism," published in 1958 by the BGEA.

37. See Graham's radio message, "The Bible and Dr. Kinsey" (1953), published by the BGEA.

38. See Curtis Mitchell, *God in the Garden* (New York, 1957), p. 177.

39. *Charlotte Observer*, September 24, 1958, p. 8-A. Graham has also hinted that the child labor laws in the United States ought to be amended so that adolescents can go to work at an earlier age and thus the devil will not find so much mischief for idle hands: "When I was a boy I didn't

have time to be a delinquent. I was too busy. If our young people today were gainfully occupied, delinquency would soon disappear. Our society has produced a generation of young people who are bored. They have too much leisure on their hands. The Bible warns against idle hands." From Graham's radio sermon, "Teen-age Vandalism" (1958), published by the BGEA.

40. *Charlotte Observer*, October 5, 1958, p. 14-A.

41. *Ibid.*, October 25, 1958, p. 11-A.

42. See Graham's radio message, "Juvenile Delinquency and Its Cure" (1955), published by the BGEA.

43. *Charlotte Observer*, October 1, 1958, p. 6-A, October 5, 1958, p. 14-A.

44. See Graham's radio message, "Juvenile Delinquency and Its Cure" (1955), published by the BGEA.

45. See Graham, "The Bible and Dr. Kinsey" (1953), published by the BGEA.

46. See James L. McAllister, "Evangelical Faith and Billy Graham" in *Social Action*, XIX (March, 1953), 22.

47. Graham, *Peace with God*, p. 195.

48. *New York Herald Tribune*, May 12, 1957, p. 24.

49. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1957.

50. *Charlotte Observer*, October 27, 1958, p. 1. Graham was similarly ambiguous concerning segregation during his two-day crusade in Little Rock, Arkansas, in September, 1959. Although he was denounced as an integrationist by the city's White Citizens' Council, Governor Orval Faubus sat in a box seat at one of his meetings. The most direct reference Graham made in Little Rock to segregation was, "I have not come to make any inflammatory statements or preach on the subject of race. . . . I don't think we're ever going to solve our basic social problems apart from the Cross of Christ." See *Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock, Arkansas), September 13, 1959, p. 2a, and September 14, 1959, p. 2a.

51. This aspect of Graham's preaching was explicitly praised by Sherwood E. Wirt who reported after the San Francisco crusade in 1958, "A real secret of Billy Graham's power . . . is his ability to bring believers into touch with each other by omitting things that divide them. Today it can be said that Christian unity in the San Francisco area is very real. . . ." Sherwood E. Wirt, "New Life Surges in 'Graveyard of Evangelism,'" *United Evangelical Action*, August 1, 1958, p. 3. Mr. Wirt is now editor of *World Evangelism*, the magazine published by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.

CHAPTER 5: Politics and World Affairs

1. *London Daily Herald*, February 26, 1954, p. 1.

2. *U.S. News and World Report*, August 27, 1954, p. 87.

3. William R. Moody, *D. L. Moody* (New York, 1930), p. 171.
4. *Boston Daily Herald*, January 17, 1917, p. 9.
5. William F. Graham, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (published by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, 1955), p. 37.
6. See Graham's radio message, "America's Immorality" (1954), published by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (hereinafter referred to as that BGEA).
7. William F. Graham, *Peace with God*, (New York, 1953), p. 17.
8. The description of "Oiltown, U.S.A." is taken from a flyleaf published by the Graham crusade headquarters in London in 1954 in order to advertise showings of the film there. The references to "rugged individualism" are found in James L. McAllister, "Evangelical Faith and Billy Graham," *Social Action*, XIX (March, 1953) p. 23.
9. *Ibid.* Graham has sometimes listed the three internal threats to the American way of life as "Big Labor, Big Government and Big Business," but like previous revivalists he seldom finds occasion to say anything about the latter, except that it should treat its workers fairly.
10. *Columbia State* (North Carolina), February 19, 1950, p. 2.
11. See Graham's radio message, "Revival or the Spirit of the Age" (1952), published by the BGEA.
12. *Pittsburgh Press*, September 7, 1952, p. 25, sec. II.
13. Graham, *Peace with God*, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
14. See Graham's radio message, "Organized Labor and the Church" (1952), published by the BGEA.
15. These statements were made on the "Hour of Decision" on April 7, 1957 and October 6, 1957.
16. "Organized Labor and the Church," *op. cit.*
17. "Revival or the Spirit of the Age," *op. cit.*
18. See Graham's radio message, "Partners with God" (1957), published by the BGEA.
19. Stanley High, *Billy Graham* (New York, 1956), p. 63.
20. *Intelligence Digest* (London), May, 1954, p. 5.
21. "Revival or the Spirit of the Age," *op. cit.*
22. *Houston Post*, May 28, 1952, sec. I, p. 7.
23. "Hour of Decision," June 8, 1952.
24. *Dallas Morning News*, June 3, 1953, sec. II, p. 1. Dr. Graham tells me that he did not make this statement concerning Britain's moral strength. It was made, he says, by a member of the British Parliament who was visiting Dr. Graham at the time and was asked by Dr. Graham to speak at the businessmen's luncheon in Dallas.
25. Quoted in the *London Daily Herald*, February 20, 1954, p. 3, and the *New York Times*, February 21, 1954.

26. *London Daily Herald*, February 20, 1954, p. 3.
27. *Ibid.*, February 22, 1954, p. 1.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*, February 24, 1954, p. 1.
30. *Ibid.*, February 22, 1954, p. 1.
31. *Ibid.*, February 26, 1954, p. 7.
32. *British Weekly* (London), September 30, 1954, p. 5.
33. *Intelligence Digest*, April, 1954, pp. 2-5.
34. *Ibid.*, June, 1954, p. 5.
35. *British Weekly*, October 21, 1954, p. 6.
36. For an early sermon quoting De Courcy see the radio message, "Grace vs. Wrath" (1951), published by the BGEA.
37. *America's Hour of Decision* (Wheaton, Illinois, 1951), p. 144.
38. *Columbia State*, February 23, 1950, p. 1.
39. This is contained in a Christmas letter sent by Graham from Minneapolis in 1951 to all those on the association's mailing list. The letter is not dated.
40. See *Columbia State*, February 22, 1950, p. 1; the statement about CARE packages was made on the "Hour of Decision," August 17, 1952.
41. "Hour of Decision," September 21, 1952.
42. See Graham's radio message, "Three Minutes to Twelve" (1953), published by the BGEA. In recent years Graham has taken a slightly more liberal attitude toward foreign aid and in particular has urged that America's surplus foods should be distributed more freely to underdeveloped countries where there are food shortages.
43. See Graham's radio message, "Hate vs. Love" (1951 and 1955), published by the BGEA.
44. See Graham's radio message, "What Is God Like" (1951), published by the BGEA.
45. See Graham's radio message, "Program for Peace" (1952), published by the BGEA.
46. *Pittsburgh Press*, September 7, 1952, sec. II, p. 25.
47. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1952, p. 7. On occasion Graham carried his thinly veiled dislike for the Truman administration to the point of personal ridicule of the President. For example, during his crusade in Greensboro, North Carolina, in October-November, 1951, Graham mentioned in his sermon on the Last Judgment that Hitler, Mussolini, Joe Stalin, and Harry Truman would be there; when the audience laughed at this grouping, he added: "Don't you Democrats laugh. Harry is doing the best that he can. The trouble is that he just can't do any better. After all, when a man's been in the haberdashery shop—but I won't say anything more about that. Except that I have found that after my car has run for a long time it needs

a change of oil. That's the strongest political statement I'm going to make." Quoted from an unpublished article by Professor Warren Ashby of the Woman's College of North Carolina, entitled, "The Message of Billy Graham."

48. See Graham's radio message, "Labor, Christ, and the Cross" (1953), published by the BGEA. Dr. Graham, in commenting upon this reference to McCarthyism, stated to me that while he supported the activities of Senator McCarthy for some time, he ultimately came to realize that the Senator was more interested in advancing his own position than in serving the country. Dr. Graham mentions that he refused on several occasions to participate in meetings at which Senator McCarthy spoke and he states that he privately expressed satisfaction with the rather critical portrait of Senator McCarthy which Edward R. Murrow presented on his television program in 1953. However, I have not been able to discover any public statement by Dr. Graham indicating his loss of confidence in Senator McCarthy either during the Senator's lifetime or since.

49. *America's Hour of Decision*, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

50. See Graham's radio message, "Satan's Religion" (1953), published by the BGEA.

51. "Hour of Decision," July 5, 1953.

52. "Hour of Decision," June 10, 1951.

53. *London Daily Herald*, February 26, 1954, p. 7.

54. "Hour of Decision," December 5, 1954; see also Graham's radio message, "Christ Is Coming" (1955), published by the BGEA.

55. *Houston Post*, May 4, 1952, sec. II, p. 1.

56. See *America's Hour of Decision*, p. 143.

57. See Graham's radio message, "Christianity vs. a Bloodless Religion" (1951), published by the BGEA. Dr. Graham, in commenting on this passage in a letter to me, pointed out that he never once mentioned Dean Acheson by name in this sermon.

58. See Graham's radio message, "America's Decision" (1953), published by the BGEA.

59. "Hour of Decision," January 30, 1955.

60. *U.S. News and World Report*, April 6, 1956, p. 69.

61. *Charlotte Observer*, September 25, 1958, p. 6-A, and October 4, 1958, p. 6-A.

62. "Hour of Decision," July 26, 1953, December 5, 1954.

63. *Pittsburgh Press*, September 8, 1952, p. 7. The sermon is not quoted in the newspaper.

64. "Grace vs. Wrath," *op. cit.* Dr. Graham, in commenting on this passage in a letter to me, pointed out that while he considered wrong (and still considers wrong) the decision not to let General MacArthur push the Korean War to ultimate victory even at the risk of starting a general war

with China, he never mentioned the Truman administration by name in this sermon and he considers many Republicans equally to blame for this faulty decision.

65. See Graham's radio message for April, 1951, "Hate *vs.* Love," published by the BGEA.

66. "Hour of Decision," May 25, 1952.

67. "Hour of Decision," November 2, 1952.

68. "Hour of Decision," April 26, 1953.

69. See Graham's radio message, "America's Decision" (1953), published by the BGEA.

70. *Dallas Morning News*, June 20, 1953, sec. II, p. 5.

71. "America's Decision," *op. cit.*

72. See Graham's radio message for March, 1953, "Teach Us to Pray," published by the BGEA. In 1958 Graham was willing to say, "We should back every effort of the UN to bring peace," but he also maintained that all its efforts in this direction would be futile for "you see, at the UN they don't really look to God." *Charlotte Observer*, September 28, 1958, p. 8-A, and October 6, 1958, p. 13-A. Dr. Graham, in commenting on this passage in a letter to me, indicated that despite these criticisms of certain aspects of the United Nations, he is nevertheless a supporter of the United Nations.

73. See Graham's radio message, "Three Minutes to Twelve" (1953), published by the BGEA.

74. "Hour of Decision," February 8, 1953.

75. "Hour of Decision," April 19, 1953.

76. See Graham's radio message, "Position *vs.* Penalty," (1951) published by the BGEA.

77. "Hour of Decision," January 6, 1957.

78. *Newark Sunday News*, September 4, 1955.

79. *Christian Life*, July, 1956, p. 14.

80. *New York Herald Tribune*, January 15, 1956, p. 3.

81. *Christian Life*, July, 1956, p. 14.

82. *Ibid.*, April, 1956, p. 54. Dr. Graham, in commenting on this passage in a letter to me, indicated that Mr. Nehru was not offended by this remark and that Mr. Nehru has, in fact, continued to express sympathetic interest in his work.

83. Quoted in Charles T. Cook, *The Billy Graham Story* (London, 1954), p. 100.

84. *United Evangelical Action*, November 1, 1945, p. 12.

85. Cook, *Billy Graham Story*, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

86. "Hour of Decision," January 11, 1959.

87. *New York Times*, December 13, 1959, p. 49.

CHAPTER 6: Pulpit Techniques

1. *Charlotte Observer*, October 16, 1958, p. 6-B.

2. *Christianity Today*, October 15, 1956, p. 6.

3. *Houston Post*, June 2, 1952, p. 1. The following remark made by a spectator at a Graham meeting typifies the reaction of many young people to Graham's compelling power in the pulpit: "I get goose pimples when Billy Graham uses his hands." Quoted in James L. McAllister, *et al.*, "Greensboro and Billy Graham" (1952) an unpublished paper in the social ethics library of Yale Divinity School, Yale University, p. V, 6.

4. *Dallas Morning News*, June 3, 1953, sec. III, p. 1.

5. *Washington Post*, February 3, 1952, p. 13-M.

6. *Pittsburgh Press*, September 18, 1952, p. 2.

7. *Columbia State*, February 25, 1950, p. 1.

8. William F. Graham, *Peace with God* (New York, 1953), p. 25.

9. See Graham's radio message, "Our Teen-Age Problem" (1955), published by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (hereinafter called the BGEA).

10. *Charlotte Observer*, September 26, 1958, p. 4-B.

11. See Graham's radio message, "The Rivers of Damascus" (1956), published by the BGEA.

12. *Charlotte Observer*, September 24, 1958, p. 8-A.

13. *Revival in Our Time* (Wheaton, Illinois, 1950), p. 159.

14. *Manchester Guardian*, May 12, 1954.

15. *Dallas Morning News*, June 10, 1953, sec. III, p. 1.

16. *Pittsburgh Press*, September 26, 1952, p. 2.

17. *Houston Post*, June 9, 1952, p. 1.

18. *Charlotte Observer*, October 17, 1958, p. 8-B.

19. Quoted in the *London Daily Herald*, February 24, 1954, p. 4.

20. See *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, October 8, 1954, p. 13; radio message "Revival or the Spirit of the Age" (1952), and "Hour of Decision," June 1, 1952.

21. See Graham's radio message, "Heaven" (1955), published by the BGEA.

22. See Graham's radio message, "The Home" (1956), published by the BGEA.

23. See Graham's radio message, "Mother's Day Message" (1953), published by the BGEA.

24. *Ibid.*

25. See Graham's radio message, "Satan's Religion" (1953), published by the BGEA.

26. *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, October 9, 1954, p. 5. Dr. Graham

in a letter to me denies that he ever made such a statement and considers this a misquotation by the reporter.

27. "Hour of Decision," July 26, 1953.

28. See Graham's radio message, "Our Teen-age Problem" (1955), published by the BGEA.

29. See Graham's radio message, "Hate *vs.* Love" (1955), published by the BGEA.

30. "Hour of Decision," December 9, 1956.

31. James L. McAllister, "Evangelical Faith and Billy Graham," *Social Action*, XIX (March, 1953), p. 17. Inasmuch as it is a serious (but seldom documented) charge against professional mass revivalism that it tends to increase or exacerbate mental disturbances in a community, it seems advisable (as well as informative) to quote at some length from the unpublished report of James L. McAllister, *et. al.* on the effects of the Billy Graham crusade on Greensboro, North Carolina in October-November, 1951, in this regard: "In the last few hours of our study in Greensboro we uncovered a whole new area of concern: that of possible mental disturbances resulting from the crusade. The information came through two doctors who are leaders in the local medical association, and they suggested that we make a systematic coverage of the Greensboro doctors. It was too late for us to do anything in Greensboro, but on returning to New Haven we prepared a letter and a return postcard and sent them to 113 doctors. The mailing list was secured from a Greensboro telephone directory. The following is the data received:

"No. of doctors contacted	113
No. of doctors responding	69
No. of doctors reporting cases of mental disturbance	20
No. of cases reported	58
No. of referrals reported	19
(We have not included such answers as 'several.')	
No. of children (under 15)	9

Kinds of disturbances reported:

Schizophrenia
 Psychotic reactions requiring shock therapy
 Mild psychotic reactions needing only reassurance
 Psychosis
 Severe anxiety state
 Aggravation of previous psychoneurosis
 Feeling of uselessness and insomnia
 Mild depression
 Exaggerated guilt complex
 Religious hallucinations
 Feeling of guilt and worry over sins
 Auditory hallucinations
 Feeling of not being saved
 Crying spells
 Restlessness
 Severe depression

Severe headaches and abdominal cramps associated with fear of sin
 Digestive disturbances and loss of energy
 Disruption of normal sex relations
 Threatened self-mutilation and removal of genital organs because of past sins

Quotations [from doctors' replies]:

'I'm sure I saw many who were harmed by the Graham Crusade. I know also of two cases of marital difficulty and excess drinking in which both cases were helped by Graham. Personally, I believe his contribution to religion bears about the same worth as Hadacol to our medical armament.'

'I question whether the good produced balanced the harm done the community.'

'Three of these children (9-14) have demanded parents to follow Graham to Washington and have made the trip from Greensboro.'

'Too much of an appeal through fear and guilt. Exploitation of personalities—big business—not sound, conservative and durable religion.'

'Impressions gained from talking to patients—not many took things too seriously—"a good show."'

'I advise *my* nervous patients to stay away.'

'I believe this type of revival has many bad effects on a community and I wonder if the good effects overcome this.'

'Billy Graham's Crusade had no effect whatsoever on our people. Very few are interested in his type of segregated religion.'

'I firmly oppose such revivals.'

'I did not go to hear Billy Graham. But from my observations and what I hear I think he did a lot of good here.'

'Personally I am much opposed to this type of religious expression—religious quackery—although I feel Billy Graham is sincere.'

Two quotations concerning cases:

'I did have one patient who came to me of his own accord, and threatened self-mutilation and removal of his genital organs on account of past sins. I would hesitate to say that this was a result of the Billy Graham Crusade, although this patient had been attending regularly.'

'Mrs. M. K. married fifteen years, two children, had always enjoyed normal sexual relations. It had been their custom to have a highball (maybe two) before supper and a "night cap" before retiring. But during the "Crusade" they decided that this was not quite right, so they stopped all alcoholic drinks. Now she can't sleep, sexual relations have been unsatisfactory for two reasons: one, they were not sure this was the right thing to do, and second, her husband was unable to sustain an erection and she was frustrated.'

"These are the facts and impressions that we have received from the doctors. However, in evaluating them we need to keep in mind that in

the case of mental disturbances, generally, no single factor is the cause. Nevertheless, it seems that in a significant number of instances the Crusade was a precipitating factor; at least this is what some of the Greensboro doctors have reported."

The foregoing data was quoted, with permission, from James L. McAllister, Esther Artman, and Paul Hammer, "Greensboro and Billy Graham" (1952), pp. III, 27-III, 30. A copy of this typewritten manuscript is on file in the social ethics library of the Yale Divinity School, Yale University. I have quoted here from Mr. McAllister's personal copy which he was kind enough to lend to me.

32. For Graham's answers to charges that his preaching is too emotional (from which these quotations are taken), see *Look*, February 7, 1956, p. 48.

33. *Charlotte Observer*, September 24, 1958, p. 8-A; October 4, 1958, p. 6-A; October 2, 1958, p. 2-D; October 16, 1958, p. 6-B.

34. See *Time*, October 25, 1954, p. 58.

35. *Ibid.*, and *Picture Post* (London) March 20, 1954, p. 40, and Graham's radio message "Heaven" (1955), published by the BGEA.

36. *Columbia State*, March 10, 1950, p. 7-B.

37. See Stanley High, *Billy Graham* (New York, 1956), p. 63, and Graham's radio message, "Immortality" (1957), published by the BGEA.

38. Graham occasionally seems to be embarrassed by certain aspects of a literal interpretation of the Bible. For example, in the following description of the exploits of Samson he glosses over events which might shock the credulity of his audience by making jokes out of them: "One day he [Samson] was walking down the road and a lion came out and he grabbed this lion with his bare hands and ripped him apart. Now that takes a pretty good man. . . . Why even Tarzan had trouble doing that. Then on another occasion he took the jawbone of a donkey and went out and killed one thousand in a battle. . . . Now Audie Murphy couldn't do that. Samson was a man, a strong giant of a man, with muscles that rippled and rolled. He was a Floyd Patterson, Sugar Ray Robinson, and a Paul Anderson all rolled into one." *Charlotte Observer*, October 8, 1958, p. 4-A.

39. See Graham's radio message, "Why Christians Suffer" (1956), published by the BGEA.

40. See Graham's radio message, "The Cure for Discouragement" (1954), published by the BGEA.

41. See Graham's radio message, "Partners with God" (1957), published by the BGEA.

42. *America's Hour of Decision* (Wheaton, Illinois, 1951), p. 128.

43. *U.S. News and World Report*, September 27, 1957, p. 72.

44. See Graham's radio message, "Satan's Religion" (1953), published by the BGEA.

45. See Graham's radio message, "The Second Coming, A Glorious Truth" (1952), published by the BGEA.
46. *America's Hour of Decision*, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
47. See Graham's radio message, "Grace vs. Wrath" (1951), published by the BGEA.
48. See Graham's radio message, "Revival or the Spirit of the Age" (1952), published by the BGEA.
49. *Newark Evening News*, July 17, 1958, p. 10.
50. See Graham's radio message, "The Signs of the Times" (1957), published by the BGEA.
51. See Graham's form letter from Pusan, Korea, December, 1952, sent to all persons on the association's mailing list.
52. See *Decision* (the newsletter of the BGEA), May, 1954.
53. See Graham's radio message, "Christianity vs. a Bloodless Religion" (1951), published by the BGEA.
54. See Graham's radio message, "The Revival We Need" (1956), published by the BGEA.
55. See Graham's radio message, "Christianism vs. Communism" (1951), published by the BGEA.
56. See Graham's radio message, "The Revival We Need" (1956), published by the BGEA.
57. See Graham's radio messages, "Revival or the Spirit of the Age" (1952), "America's Decision" (August, 1953), and "Christianism vs. Communism" (1951), published by the BGEA.
58. See Graham's radio message, "America's Decision" (1953), published by the BGEA.
59. See Graham's radio message, "Spiritual Inventory" (1955), published by the BGEA.
60. See Graham's radio message, "Satan's Religion" (1953), published by the BGEA.
61. *Town Meeting* (publication of Town Meeting of the Air), January 2, 1951, p. 9.
62. See Graham's radio message, "Christianity vs. a Bloodless Religion" (1951), published by the BGEA.
63. See Graham's radio message, "Grace vs. Wrath" (1951), published by the BGEA. Dr. Graham in commenting on this passage in a letter to me indicates that he does not hold that World War III will inevitably mean the end of the world but only that it *might* mean this.
64. See Graham's radio messages, "Revival Today" (1955) and "Spiritual Inventory" (1955), published by the BGEA.
65. See Graham's radio message, "Program for Peace" (1952), published by the BGEA.

66. *Charlotte Observer*, October 18, 1958, p. 8-A.
67. *Intelligence Digest* (London) July, 1954, pp. 6-7.

CHAPTER 7: Revival Mechanics

1. *This Week*, April 21, 1957, p. 12.
2. For an account of the Rose Bowl failure see Carl F. H. Henry, "The Marvel of the Rose Bowl" in *America's Hour of Decision* (Wheaton, Illinois, 1951), pp. 97 ff.
3. See the *New York Times*, December 17, 1954, p. 28 and *United Evangelical Action*, February 1, 1955, p. 13. (For opposition to Graham's revival in St. Louis, Missouri in 1953, see *United Evangelical Action*, May 1, 1953, p. 13.) The opposition in New York City in 1952 was partly from fundamentalists who disliked Graham's willingness to co-operate with liberal Protestants. What might be considered a third setback in Graham's career, and a good indication of his waning popularity, was the refusal in 1958 of the Church Federation of Chicago (made up predominantly of liberal Protestant ministers) to give united endorsement to his proposed crusade in Chicago. For details of this see *United Evangelical Action*, August 15, 1958, p. 7.
4. See Noel Houston, "Billy Graham," *Holiday*, March, 1958, p. 107.
5. See *Billy Graham: The Work of an Evangelist* (London, 1952), p. 20.
6. Andrew Tully, quoted in Curtis Mitchell, *God in the Garden* (New York, 1957), pp. 65-66.
7. *Introducing Billy Graham: The Work of an Evangelist* (World's Evangelical Alliance, London, 1952), p. 23. For the implications of Graham's "all-inclusive policy" in regard to the resurgent fundamentalist-modernist quarrel see Chapter 9, *infra*. But it should be noted here that Graham stated in 1952, that while he would "welcome all men of every theological structure to come and join with us" in evangelistic crusades, he also added, "I tell you this, I would never pull a punch from the Word of God in order to compromise with one man. . . . On the Executive Committee of our campaigns we have only men who accept the deity of the Lord Jesus Christ, which includes the Virgin birth, the vicarious atonement and the bodily resurrection." *Ibid.*, p. 23.
8. See for example *United Evangelical Action*, July 1, 1954, p. 7, where the role of the International Christian Leadership group in the Washington, D.C. crusade is discussed.
9. Since 1954 a growing number of fundamentalists has voiced its opposition to Graham for a variety of reasons which are discussed *infra*, Chapter 9.
10. *Houston Post*, June 2, 1952, p. 1.
11. *Christian Century*, September 21, 1955, p. 1076; and April 23, 1952, p. 494.

12. *United Evangelical Action*, February 1, 1955, p. 13.

13. *Christian Life*, February 19, 1956, p. 45.

13a. Jerry Beavan has pointed out to me that no donations or pledges are made at these businessmen's luncheons. They are designed primarily to enlist the support of "the better elements" in a city, and while it is indicated that solicitation will later be made of those businessmen who indicate their interest, no funds are actually raised at these luncheons.

14. See *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, October 2, 1954, p. 8; for the Nashville statistics see Stanley High, *Billy Graham* (New York, 1956), pp. 156 ff; for the London statistics see the *British Weekly*, October 7, 1954, p. 3; for the New York statistics see Noel Houston, "Billy Graham," *Holiday*, March, 1958, p. 98 and the *New York Times*, December 20, 1957, p. 31. It is worth noting here that one of the methods used by the Graham organization in soliciting funds has been to ask the cooperating ministers in a crusade to supply the finance committee with a list of names of the members of their churches who might be persuaded to give. See James L. McAllister, *et al.*, "Greensboro and Billy Graham" (1952), p. IV, 14a. A copy of this manuscript is in the social ethics library of the Yale Divinity School, Yale University.

15. *This Week Magazine*, April 21, 1957, p. 12.

16. Mitchell, *God in the Garden*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

CHAPTER 8: Converts and Commercialism

1. *Newsweek*, July 22, 1957, p. 57.

2. *Pittsburgh Press*, September 25, 1952, p. 5.

3. *Newsweek*, May 27, 1957, p. 96.

4. *Time*, May 27, 1957, p. 46.

5. The counselors for Graham's crusades are trained by the Navigators, Inc., weeks ahead of the meetings, in special counseling classes. Some ultrafundamentalists have recently claimed that because Graham is cooperating with liberal Protestants in his crusades, counseling is being done by persons not committed to fundamentalism. Graham and his team vigorously deny this and the Navigators have special tests in choosing those whom they certify for counseling positions so as to weed out all liberals and modernists.

6. Not all counseling done in the inquiry rooms goes so smoothly as this fictitious case. A minister who worked in the Graham crusade in New York told me of a narrow-minded counselor trained in a southern Bible school who completely alienated an inquirer whom he knew to be Jewish. He began his counseling by quoting Biblical texts to prove that the Jews had killed Jesus and then remarked, "That is why the Jews have always had so much trouble in the world. You refused to accept Christ." The inquirer left the room incensed and unconverted.

7. For further discussion of the fundamentalists' criticisms of Graham on this score see *infra*, Chapter 9.

8. See for example *Decision*, the newsletter of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association for November, 1958, (vol. VI, #2) concerning the crusade in Charlotte, North Carolina. According to this "Nearly 60 per cent of those making decisions were under eighteen years of age."

9. *Look*, February 7, 1956, p. 48.

10. Although the decision cards used by Graham since 1956 omit this feature the pastor who makes the follow up visit to each convert is supposed to ascertain whether or not he has been previously attending church regularly. It might also be noted here that the term "first decision" applied to a convert does not mean that the person was not already a church member. Only a conversion experience is a "first decision" and many church members have not had such experiences.

11. *U.S. News and World Report*, September 27, 1957, p. 74.

12. Bob Considine quoted in George Burnham and Lee Fisher, *Billy Graham and the New York Crusade* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1957), pp. 73-74.

13. Interview with the author.

14. *Christianity Today*, September 16, 1957, p. 32.

15. *Pittsburgh Press*, September 11, 1952, p. 2.

16. *Washington Post*, January 15, 1952, p. 2-B.

17. A. J. Liebling in *The New Yorker*, May 28, 1955, p. 105.

18. *Christian Century*, June 12, 1957, pp. 725-726.

19. *New York Times*, May 30, 1957.

20. *Christian Century*, May 29, 1957, p. 677.

21. *Life*, July 1, 1957, quoted in Curtis Mitchell, *God in the Garden* (New York, 1957), p. 104.

22. I made this spot check myself at the New York crusade office on June 18, 1957.

23. See the *Christian Century*, April 23, 1952, pp. 494-496 and *United Evangelical Action*, July 15, 1952, p. 7. In refuting Frederick, the Rev. Albert J. Lindsey of Tacoma, who had served on the Graham committee, stated that 1971 new church members had been reported by Seattle pastors and that 1504 others were "in the process of affiliation."

24. *Evangelical Christian* (Toronto), June, 1955, p. 271.

25. See the *British Weekly*, February 10, 1955, p. 1, which quotes the *Evening Standard's* survey in full.

26. The results of Highet's surveys were printed in the *British Weekly*, August 22, 1957, p. 1, and August 29, 1957, p. 1.

27. *Christian Century*, October 12, 1955, p. 1179.

28. *British Weekly*, May 29, 1958, p. 1.

29. Letter to the author, dated Edinburgh, April 26, 1958. For an equally pessimistic estimate of Billy Graham's impact upon Britain by a

social psychologist see Michael Argyle, *Religious Behavior* (London, 1958) pp. 53-57. Argyle, who is Lecturer in Social Psychology in the University of Oxford, concludes that the percentage of genuine converts made by Billy Graham in his three revival crusades in Britain (1954-1955) "is probably much lower than that for the earlier evangelists" in British history.

It is still too early to make any final judgment of the results of Graham's three-month crusade in Australia in the spring of 1959; however, an official report to the Victorian Methodist churches by the Rev. J. W. R. Westerman, Methodist director of social services, in October, 1959, stated that Graham's impact upon persons outside the regular church members in the circuits of Victoria was "slight," "negligible," and "disappointing." "The report raises the question whether less spectacular but better results could have been achieved if the time, work, prayer, and money that went into the crusade was devoted to evangelism at the local level." From an article in *The Age*, a Melbourne daily newspaper, October 23, 1959, transmitted to me by Professor Kenneth S. Inglis of the University of Adelaide.

30. *New York Times*, January 26, 1958, p. 61. This poor showing in New York also seems to indicate the failure of the home visitation campaign which directly followed the crusade there and which was considered an integral part of it.

One of the greatest difficulties in evaluating the impact of any religious revival is that of defining what a true conversion experience entails. A study made recently by the Harvard Research Center on Creative Altruism under the direction of the well known sociologist, Pitirim A. Sorokin, examined intensively by interviews and questionnaires seventy-three persons who professed conversion during revival meetings conducted either by Billy Graham or by the Rev. Bryan Green, a contemporary British evangelist. The study revealed that although "about half of the converts changed somewhat their speech reactions" and used the verbal formulas of fundamentalism to describe their changed lives and outlooks, "their outward behavior did not change at all." In fact, "Only one" out of the seventy-three converts "has shown a tangible change of his personality and overt behavior" according to Sorokin. Sorokin concludes that modern revivals of the Billy Graham sort are virtually useless as a means of altering either individual or social behavior and values. Although this conclusion is probably too negative, it indicates the difficulty in ascertaining concrete evidence of the impact of mass evangelism on contemporary society. See Pitirim A. Sorokin, "The Power of Creative Unselfish Love" in Abraham H. Maslow, ed., *New Knowledge in Human Values* (N.Y., 1959) pp. 4-5.

31. Stanley High, *Billy Graham* (New York, 1956), p. 152.

32. *New York Times*, March 3, 1955.

33. See Val Adams' column in the *New York Times*, May 26, 1957, sec. X, p. 13.

34. *Christian Century*, May 15, 1957, p. 614.

35. Some of Graham's critics have claimed that Graham himself donated or invested \$10,000 toward this magazine. Others have said that its principal backer is J. Howard Pew, wealthy former president of Sun

Oil Company who has for years accused the National Council of Churches of fostering "creeping socialism and pro-Russian radicalism." See Ernest Pickering, *Should Fundamentalists Support the Billy Graham Crusades* (Chicago, 1958), p. 17 and William E. Ashbrook, *Evangelicalism: The New Neutralism* (Columbus, Ohio, 1958), pp. 23-24.

36. Noel Houston, "Billy Graham," *Holiday*, March, 1958, p. 108.

37. See *ibid.*, also *Kansas City Star*, January 1, 1956, feature section, p. 1. I have obtained additional information about the Graham organization by visiting the Minneapolis office and talking with George Wilson and other members of the staff.

38. See High, *Graham*, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

39. Noel Houston, "Billy Graham," *loc. cit.*, p. 108.

40. *Ibid.*, 109 ff.

41. *Ibid.*, 110. Dr. Graham, in commenting on this passage in a letter to me, states that he is not aware of any difficulty between himself and the Internal Revenue Department. But in the article by Noel Houston cited above (note 36) Dr. Graham is quoted as having said in 1958, "For several years I have given the \$7200 a year I am paid for my weekly newspaper column to the [Billy Graham Evangelistic] association. Now the Internal Revenue Department tells me this was personal income and I will have to pay income tax on it all the way back. . . . The revenue men seem like nice people and I hope some kind of settlement can be made" (p. 109 in Houston's article). Jerry Beavan tells me that he carefully checked this article for accuracy before it was printed, and Noel Houston's widow assures me that every quotation in the article was checked with Dr. Graham.

CHAPTER 9: Billy Graham: An Estimate

1. See Graham's radio message, "The Sin of Tolerance" (1957), published by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, Minneapolis, Minnesota (hereinafter referred to as the BGEA).

2. *Boston Herald*, January 19, 1917, p. 1.

3. Letter from Wanamaker to Sunday, July 1, 1915, among the Sunday papers, Winona Lake, Indiana.

4. E. G. Homrighausen, "Billy Graham and the Protestant Predicament," *Christian Century*, July 18, 1956, p. 84.

5. *Christian Century*, February 29, 1956, p. 262.

6. *Time*, February 11, 1957, p. 56.

7. The renaissance of fundamentalism has given a new thrust to the foreign mission movement in America and Billy Graham is one of the driving forces behind it. In theory Graham's missionary emphasis is put on the basis of competing with communism for the allegiance of the uncommitted countries, and yet to date Graham has given most of his attention to mission work in such staunchly anti-Communist places as South Korea, Formosa, Japan, the Caribbean, and South America. In the middle of

1958 the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association announced that it would send a number of evangelists to Japan, India, and Africa "to aid programs of Christian missions already operating there." In January, 1959, the Association began a weekly evangelistic broadcast in Spanish, called "Decision," which was carried over twenty Latin American radio stations. And in June, 1959, the Association announced that it would soon begin publication of a monthly missionary magazine called *World Evangelism* which was expected to find several hundred thousand subscribers. See *United Evangelical Action*, July 1, 1958, p. 9; January, 1959, p. 12; and *Newsweek*, June 15, 1959, p. 88.

8. *Life*, July 1, 1957, p. 92.

9. *Look*, February 27, 1956, p. 49.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Graham is entitled to be called "Doctor" by virtue of five or six honorary degrees conferred upon him by various Bible schools and colleges, but he has never engaged in any advanced academic or scholarly work. It will be interesting to see whether he will, like D. L. Moody, send his sons to Yale, or, like Billy Sunday, try to persuade his sons to go to Princeton. It seems more likely that he will prefer that they go to a "Bible-believing, Christ-honoring" college like Wheaton in Illinois.

12. *Revival in Our Time*, (Wheaton, Illinois, 1950), p. 144.

13. "Hour of Decision," January 8, 1956.

14. Noel Houston, "Billy Graham," *Holiday*, March, 1958, p. 99.

14a. Dr. Graham, in a letter to me, denies his acceptance of Bishop Ussher's chronology, but insists that the account of creation in Genesis is correct. What date he does hold for the creation of the world and of Adam and Eve he does not say.

15. See Graham's radio message, "Christ's Marching Orders" (1955), published by BGEA.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. See Graham's radio message, "Satan's Religion" (1953), published by the BGEA.

19. See Graham's radio message, "Hate vs. Love" (1955), published by the BGEA. The most recent attack by Graham upon American education is contained in his sermon "Christian Philosophy of Education" (published by the BGEA, 1959) in which he joins the current effort to make John Dewey the scapegoat for all America's present educational, religious, moral and political problems: "Since the advent of John Dewey, an insidious movement has been set in motion to undermine our traditional educational system . . . self-styled progressives . . . are to a large degree responsible for the mass departure from American principles, American ideals, and Biblical morals. . . . They contend that the old, the tried and proven, and the heritages of the past must be replaced by new ideas. . . . [They] actually despair of, and make light of, our traditional

political concepts. . . And this is done in the sanctity of the classroom unknown to the faithful and loyal American parents who foot the bills for our education." Graham delivered this sermon on the Hour of Decision broadcast, October 4, 1959, and offered to send extra copies for distribution to all who wrote in for them.

20. Quoted by Ralph Lord Roy in "Billy Graham's Crusade," *New Leader*, August 1, 1955, p. 7.

21. See Graham's radio message, "The Bible and Dr. Kinsey" (1953) published by BGEA.

22. See Graham's radio message, "Hate vs. Love" (1955), published by the BGEA.

23. *United Evangelical Action*, June 1, 1956, p. 5.

24. See Graham's radio message, "The Responsibilities of Parents" (1955), published by the BGEA. It is indeed careless of Graham to accuse the Supreme Court of doing something it has never done. Graham may be thinking of the decision by the Supreme Court of New Jersey which prohibited the Gideons from distributing the King James version of the Bible in the New Jersey public schools in 1953 because of Roman Catholic objections that it was a sectarian book. The Supreme Court of the United States refused to deal with this case because it has always studiously left the decision of Bible-reading in the public schools up to the states.

25. This sentence, taken from the "Hour of Decision" broadcast of July 27, 1958, was not included in the printed version of "The Sin of Tolerance" (1957), published by the BGEA.

26. The latter quotation is from "The Urgency of Revival," a radio message published in 1954 by the BGEA.

27. This does not mean that Graham indulges in anti-Semitism or anti-Catholicism. He does not. It is interesting to note, however, that whereas Billy Sunday turned decision cards signed by Roman Catholics over to the local bishop or archbishop, Graham instructs his counselors and co-operating ministers that an inquirer can be assumed to be adopting Protestantism if he comes forward in the meetings, and it is therefore right to proselyte any Roman Catholic—or Jew—who does so. Nevertheless Graham has been so friendly toward the Roman Catholic church that some of his original supporters among the fanatical fundamentalists have attacked him for betraying their cause. See for example, *The Converted Catholic* (New York), June, 1956.

28. *Christian Life*, July, 1956, pp. 14 ff.

29. *U.S. News and World Report*, April 6, 1956, p. 65.

30. See for example the comments in George Burnham, *To the Far Corners: With Billy Graham in Asia* (New York, 1956), pp. 34, 42, 80, 83-84, 86, 91. Graham's campaign in Africa reflected a similar disregard for non-Christians. He not only antagonized Moslem leaders by his attempts to proselytize their followers, but he angered all Africans by his refusal to take any stand on the French atomic bomb experiments in the

Sahara. See *New York Times*, February 14, 1960, p. 59, and *Providence Journal*, January 26, 1960, p. 35; February 4, 1960, p. 4.

31. *Charlotte Observer*, October 23, 1958, p. 9-C.

32. *Look*, February 7, 1956, p. 51.

33. Reinhold Niebuhr, "Literalism, Individualism, and Billy Graham," *Christian Century*, May 23, 1956, pp. 641-642.

34. Billy Graham, *Peace with God* (New York, 1953), p. 50.

35. See Graham's radio message, "The Signs of the Times" (1957), published by the BGEA.

36. See Graham's radio message, "The Mystery of Iniquity" (1956), published by the BGEA.

36a. Dr. Graham, in commenting on this passage in a letter to me, indicates that he does not believe in the inevitability of atomic war because it is possible that human nature can be radically changed by divine aid. Atomic war is only inevitable, he indicates in his letter, if human nature is not radically transformed.

37. *New York Times*, January 26, 1958, p. 61.

38. *Christian Century*, August 7, 1957, p. 934.

39. See Graham's radio message, "Teen-age Vandalism" (1958), published by the BGEA. One of the surprising things about these suggestions is that Graham said "the federal government needs to do more" to help clean up the slums. Though he gave a negative twist to it by asserting, "It concerns me that we are willing to give billions to other countries abroad but are not willing to spend the necessary money here at home to clean up our slum conditions."

40. Ralph Lord Roy, "Billy Graham's Crusade," *The New Leader*, August 1, 1955, p. 8.

41. *New York Times Magazine*, April 21, 1957, p. 19.

42. *New York Herald Tribune*, May 12, 1957, p. 24.

43. "Hour of Decision," November 10, 1957.

44. "Hour of Decision," July 27, 1958.

45. *Charlotte Observer*, September 23, 1958, p. 4-A.

45a. Typical of these fundamentalist attacks upon Graham are the following pamphlets: Bob Jones, Jr., *How Accurate Are the Statements Made by Those Who Defend Billy Graham's Modernistic Sponsorship?* (Greenville, South Carolina, 1957); Ernest Pickering, *Should Fundamentalists Support the Billy Graham Crusades?* (Chicago, 1958); William E. Ashbrook, *Evangelicalism: The New Neutralism* (Chicago, 1956); James A. Stewart, *Ecumenical Evangelism?* (Asheville, North Carolina, n.d.).

46. See Carl F. H. Henry, "Theology, Evangelism, Ecumenism," *Christianity Today*, January 20, 1958, pp. 20 ff., and the answer to it by James DeForest Murch, "Trends in Protestantism," *United Evangelical Action*, March 1, 1958, p. 7. Murch remarks of Henry's and Graham's view:

"Eager advocates of 'the new evangelicalism' need to be on their guard lest they go too far in their quest for a wider fellowship" and become ensnared with "the Super-Church" and its "new ecumenical theology or 'Christology'" which is simply another form of liberalism.

47. See Graham's radio message, "Peace vs. Chaos" (1951), published by the BGEA. Dr. Graham, in commenting on this chapter in a letter to me, indicates that he believes I have exaggerated his relationship with the National Association of Evangelicals and neglected his more important association with the Southern Baptist Convention. I have perhaps been remiss in not pointing out that Dr. Graham is deeply devoted to his denomination and is active in his support of it, particularly in the foreign missions field. But my estimate of his career in this chapter is meant to look beyond denominational affiliations to the overarching movements of theological development and ecclesiastical relations within contemporary Protestantism. In this respect Dr. Graham's positive, extradenominational relationship to a new movement like the NAE may well be historically more significant than his ordinary relationship to his denomination. Only time will answer this question.

48. In an article entitled "What Ten Years Have Taught Me," published February 17, 1960, in the *Christian Century*, Graham explicitly stated that this individualistic emphasis in his theology had not altered over the years: "I am more convinced than ever before that we must change men before we can change society. The international problems are only reflections of individual problems. . . . Social sins, after all, are merely a large-scale projection of individual sins. . . ."

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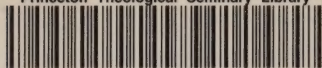
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A Note on the Author

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